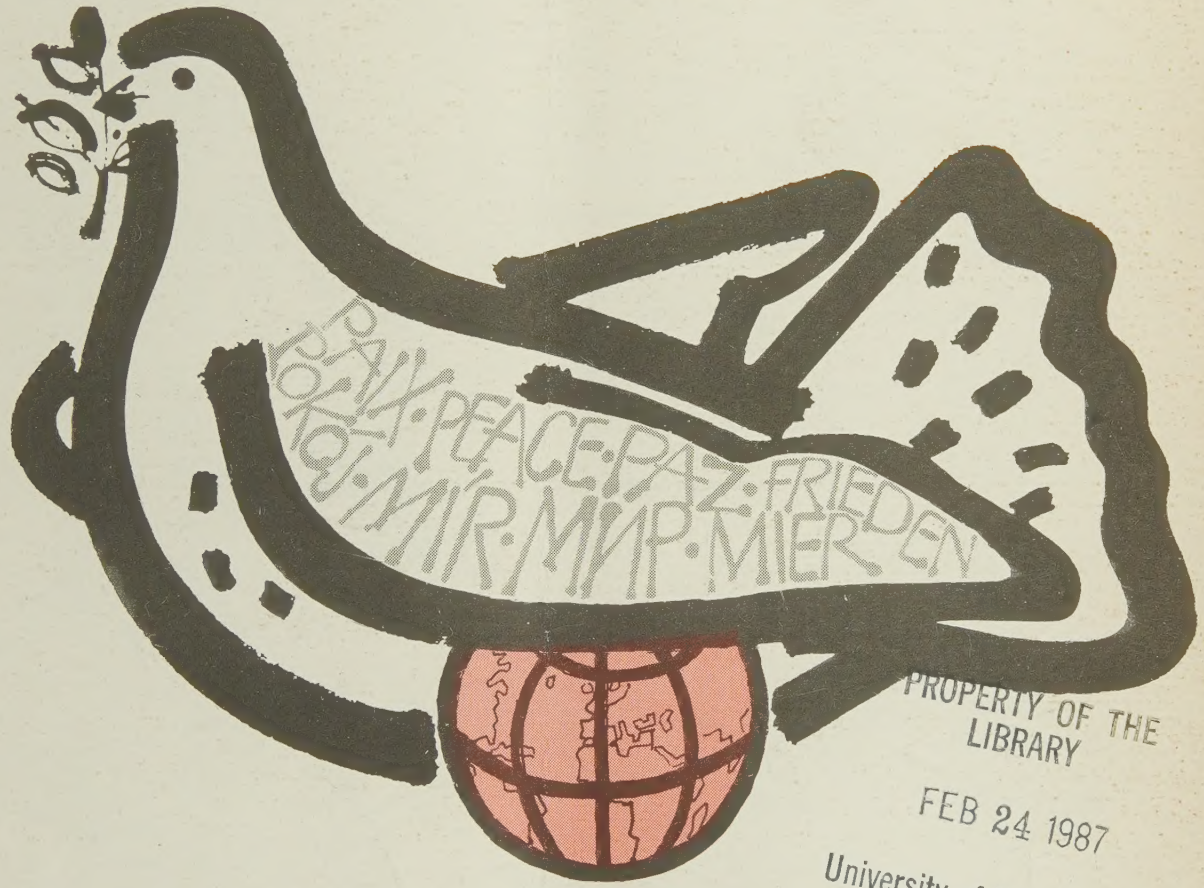
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

WHAT HAS "EUREKA" FOU

NEW TIMES



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"FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD, FOR THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND"— INTERNATIONAL FORUM IN MOSCOW

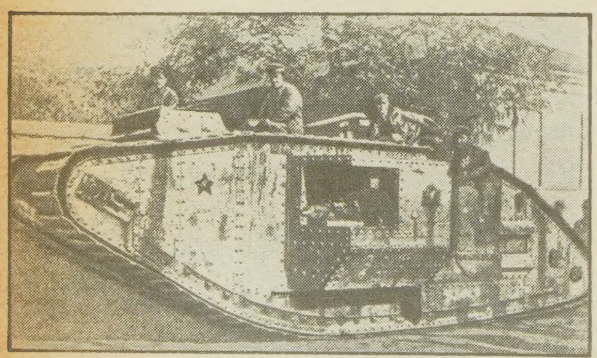
ISLANDS OF GROWTH IN A SEA OF CRISIS

"REPENTANCE": NOT JUST A FILM

1917–1987

These two photographs were taken almost at the same time in 1920—one in the north and the other in the south of Russia. The British-made tank was used in battles against the Red Army, was captured, and renamed Proletarian Muscovite (in those days armoured vehicles, like ships, had names). The young communist cavalrymen are three of the five million fighting men of the Red Army who defended the country's freedom at the time of the foreign intervention and civil war. Their names are unknown, but they symbolize the youth of the Revolution.

The civil war—one of the greatest in history—enveloped the Soviet Republic in the flames of class battles which were fought by millions of people over a vast area from the Baltic to the Pacific. It lasted for three years. We know when it ended. But who can say exactly when it began?



The resistance of the classes overthrown by the Revolution was broken in 1917. But then international imperialism intervened. The foreign invasion of Russia injected new life into the counterrevolutionary forces, and by the summer of 1918, three quarters of the country's territory was in the hands of numerous Whiteguard and bourgeois-nationalist "governments." Uprisings broke out, and Whiteguard armies closed in on the republic on six fronts.

The country virtually became an armed camp. All forces were concentrated on the defence of the Soviet Republic: general mobilization was declared, emergency measures taken in the economy, and the system of war communism introduced. By the autumn of that same year the first victories were scored on the Eastern Front, where the Volga area and part of the Urals were liberated. Then Soviet power was restored in Byelorussia, the Ukraine and the Baltic region.

The ferocity of the armies of intervention knew no bounds. With their backing, the counterrevolutionary regimes of Kolchak in Siberia and Denikin in southern Russia were established, provided with enormous material resources and the latest in armaments. But six months later Kolchak was driven out of Siberia, Denikin was smashed, and by the autumn of 1919 Yudenich's army on the approaches to Petrograd had been routed. The last Whiteguard, kulak and bourgeois-nationalist uprisings were crushed, and by the end of 1922 the remaining interventionist and Whiteguard strongholds in Central Asia and the Far East were wiped out.

The popular masses supported the new state and social system and, although worn out by the world war, privation and famine, found the strength to win through to victory.

Our enemies were bent on destroying us at birth. We paid with thousands upon thousands of lives for our right to independent existence.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

6 February 16, 1987
Founded 1943

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Cover:
Poster by Frantisek Kraus (Czechoslovakia)

"For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind" is the motto of an international forum now being held in Moscow. Taking part are prominent political, civic and religious personalities, scientists and workers in the arts. How to save civilization from the danger of nuclear destruction? Is a nuclear-free world possible? In our Opinion Poll this week read the views of Soviet philosopher Valentin Tolstykh and Belgian politician Jean Verstappen.

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NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

It is wrong to stereotype all Americans. Some of us recognize and fully appreciate your government's suspension of nuclear arms, recently extended for the fifth time. Nor do all Americans aspire to wealth and materialism above all else; some of us earnestly acknowledge that peace and mutual security should be our most vital concerns.

MICHAEL EBERT
Peru, Indiana, U.S.A.

Some of those who said, until quite recently, that arms limitation should best be left to the politicians and the military and that big decisions were not for the little man to make are now stopping to ponder and discuss things and look deeper into the meaning of the policy of peaceful coexistence between different social systems. Considering the passionate desire for peace displayed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, President Reagan's post-Reykjavik statements cannot but disappoint any thinking person.

LEYON SARKISJAN
Zilina, Czechoslovakia

I read with a great deal of interest a letter from the G.D.R. about the friendship pact between a Weisswasser power station repair team and the family of Lieutenant Naganov, who died defending the legendary Brest Fortress (Readers' Forum, No. 42, 1986). The story of Ernst Dracheim's grandfather goes to show that not all Germans sided with the nazis during World War II. I bear no ill will towards the Germans as a nation, and am in correspondence with my acquaintances in the G.D.R. and the F.R.G.

ROGER LESIEUR
Saint-Quentin, France

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

SPEEDING RENEWAL

The future of the country, it was stressed at the January plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, depends on the progress of the renewal now under way. And that, in turn, depends on people, the human factor. Headway is inconceivable without the active, creative participation of the masses, without the development of socialist self-administration, without popular initiative and enterprise, without discipline and order, without respect for the value and dignity of the individual.

Deep-going, far-reaching democratization of the whole life of society is the key to the involvement in the reform of its decisive force—the people. For unless the entire nation joins in concerted effort there can be no renewal.

We know by our own experience over the years that administration cannot and should not be the privilege of a narrow circle of professionals. The socialist system derives its vital strength from the participation in political life of the millions, the masses devoted heart and soul to that system.

Democracy is that pure, health-giving atmosphere in which alone the socialist social organism can exist and thrive. And when we say that we are not yet fully utilizing the potential of socialism, we mean that our progress is impossible without all-round development of all aspects of democracy. The salutary potential of democracy must be harnessed to the full.

Basic to democracy is openness. The Party stands firm in the view that the people must know everything. Frank and open criticism and self-criticism, and control by the masses are the guarantee of society's health, the distinctive priorities of the socialist way of life. They are needed by the whole people, by everyone, it was emphasized at the Central Committee plenum.

We know that the psychological breakthrough does not come easily. Openness makes things difficult for the conservative-minded office-holder accustomed to working half-heartedly and with a predilection for eyewash. Openness turns the spotlight on slackness, mismanagement and injustice. There are some who even today urge more caution in speaking of shortcomings and negligence, of difficulties that are bound to occur in any active endeavour. There can be only one answer to this: Communists want the truth always and under all circumstances. In a workers' and peasants' state everything is the people's business. We are not afraid of daylight. The more light, the better. So that there might be no more dark corners where mould could form again. Openness is the faithful ally of renewal. It is needed both in the centre and in the localities. It is needed wherever people live and work.

The atmosphere of openness and democracy is already bearing fruit. The figures for 1986 show that in the decisive sphere—the economy—headway was made. This was the direct result of popular support for the policy of reform and acceleration.

Only the initial steps have been taken. Much, very much remains to be done. The renewal is a great school. Everyone must go through it. We must all learn to work energetically, boldly, creatively, competently. To work in conditions of ever greater democracy.

The dynamism of the revolutionary renewal of our society is dictated by both internal and external circumstances. We are strong in the world arena to the extent that we are strong at home. And hence the renewal is at the same time the front line of the battle for universal security, for a stable, nuclear-free world.

The road leads forward and only forward. The renewal is irreversible.

The Central Committee Plenum: COMMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

U.S.S.R. Minister Nikolai Lemayev

Reform and Personnel

Nikolai Lemayev, U.S.S.R. Minister of the Oil-Refining and Petrochemical Industry, spoke to me about the recent plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee devoted to personnel policy. We could not but recall the popular slogan of the first five-year plans: "Everything depends on people." Would that do for today?

"In principle, it is valid for any time," the minister said. "Success everywhere depends in the final analysis on the people involved. Hardly anyone would take issue with that. But who personally do we have in mind? Many faithfully believe it all depends upon who is at the top. They think it enough to choose an honest, energetic, knowledgeable person. Look how much newsmen have written about any given new collective farm chairman, new factory manager, or the new secretary of a district Party committee, whose advent drastically changes things for the better. That is indeed so. Don't you think we can find tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of people like that?

"Others would seem to start from the other end. They say: since personnel evolve in specific conditions, create the appropriate conditions for us and we'll show the stuff we're made of. But who, I would ask, will create those conditions for them?

"The psychology of the 'simple fellow who carries out orders' is deeply embedded in our mentality. I would say that is a slave psychology: it claims that when the boss comes he'll set matters right, but as for us, we're little people and nothing depends on us.

"Everything does depend on people, along with the conditions in which they work. For which reason, it is important in principle that the plenary meeting should have reviewed the personnel issue in its close dialectical relationship with the process of restructuring. This process needs personnel who will work innovatively, but without it there won't be enough of such personnel."

It seems to be a vicious circle. You're not simplifying matters, are you?

"Now, look. Not to get into a dead end one must follow up on what one starts. That's right, isn't it? Having once invested enterprises with rights and powers, every instance of initiative shown should not then be frustrated. When promoting initiative, we should not be afraid that a worker will honestly earn a lot of money. When expanding the concept of openness we should not stop halfway. But there is also the other side of the coin. How are we to exercise the rights granted? Theoretically, we all imagine the exercise of rights to presuppose responsibility. For instance, you journalists have no taboos. Does that mean you can write whatever you like? Not whatever you like, but about whatever you like. Not all journalists with whom I have talked of late are able to discern the difference. Failing to get to the root, they confuse the evidence, distort the situation and even confuse names, thus deluding the reader. This does not just refer to journalists. Take economic executives, managers. For a long time we complained of the lack of adequate rights, hard and fast norms, opportunities to use profits at our own discretion. Since January 1 all enterprises subordinated to my ministry have been operating on the self-financing and cost-accounting basis. In simple terms this means that every plant or factory may spend as much as it likes on bonuses, housing, and so on. However, the funds have to be earned. Not begged for, but earned. Is everyone prepared for that? There's the rub."

But supposing what they earn is not enough even to pay the workers, let alone give bonuses?

"That, more specifically, is what I had in mind when I said you have to follow up on what you start. Cost-accounting presupposes full responsibility. Loss-making enterprises won't have the wherewithal to pay the wages. They'll have to be shut down, or regeared to manufacturing other products. And, of course, find capable managers. We have to do that if we want to bring things to their logical conclusion. The important thing is not to be misled and think the bankruptcy of unprofitable enterprises runs counter to the principles of socialism and results in unemployment. Incidentally, to this day we keep complaining that we don't have enough personnel, and pay for putting out what we know beforehand is useless."

Opponents will object and say that though the executives are to blame, it is the workers who lose their pay.

"The workers now enjoy the tangible right to participate in decision-making and elect managerial executives. Hence, we shall no longer be able to say that they are not involved at all in the end result. If they make a wrong decision, mistakenly entrust a managerial post to the wrong man they will have to pay for it. Otherwise we shall not be able to teach people to take commitments seriously, including that of choosing managerial executives."

In his book on Russian history, the French author Michel de Saint Pierre says Russians are always amazed at the consequences of what they do.

"I'm not entirely sure that this is characteristic only of Russians. However, that sort of thing does happen here. Especially when we think one thing, say another, and do a third. That was how things were during the economic reform of the 1960s. Conceived as a most radical reform, it was then softpedalled behind talk of change. I think that was even worse than leaving things as they were."

ALEXANDER GUBER

Editor of the Warsaw Trybuna Ludu Jerzy Majka:

Challenge of the Time Accepted

Nearly two years have passed since the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which initiated the process of restructuring and acceleration. The innovative, programmatic ideas and new style of thinking and action put forward by the CPSU have won the broad backing of the Soviet people. Restructuring is becoming a reality, although, as the January 1987 plenum of the Central Committee emphasized, this is only the first step on a long road. Problems, both objective and subjective, have arisen on this road, and they have proved to be more complex than was originally thought.

Mikhail Gorbachev clearly described the substance of the reform, stressing the close link between the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development and the promotion of socialist democracy. He outlined the concept of the dynamic advancement of socialist democracy in the economic sphere as well as in the party, the state and society generally. The profoundly human approach to all matters raised should be noted. This is particularly evident from statements that the reform is a cause of the entire people and

that by a conscious attitude to this cause people provide the preconditions for the success of the reform.

As I see it, the significance of the ideas advanced at the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee goes far beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. The tasks set by the plenum are indicative of the vast potential of socialism. They reaffirm our system's ability to improve its social institutions at each new stage of advance, and to cope with the new tasks that history has placed on the agenda. They demonstrate the vitality of the ideas of the October Revolution, the immense reserves that the socialist world system has at its command. The analysis of experience enriches the practice of socialism, revealing its new facets. Hence it enriches all Communist and Workers' parties, the whole international working-class movement.

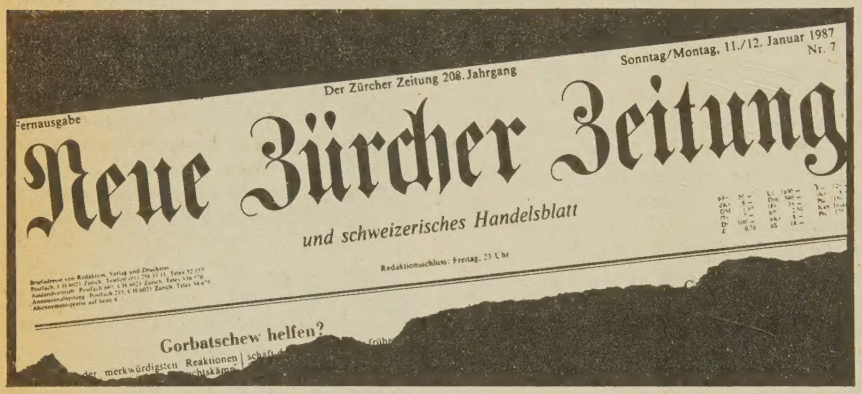
As a member of the Polish United Workers' Party, I would like to note the following. The study of the documents of the CPSU Central Committee plenum will also prove useful in the tackling of our, Polish affairs. For, despite the different levels of development, we too are coping with complex issues and measuring up to the vital imperatives of the time. When taking part in the overall process of renewal that opens up new vistas for socialist construction throughout our community, we speak a common political language.

Warsaw

Professor of Hokkaido University Hiroshi Kimura:

A Confident Neighbour

Hiroshi Kimura, a prominent Japanese specialist on the Soviet Union, head of Hokkaido University's Slavic Research Centre, talks to our Tokyo correspondent Yuri Tavrovsky.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Gorbatschew helfen?

"Help Gorbachev?"

Notes on an article in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung

"Help Gorbachev!" was the title given to a leading article carried by the Swiss Neue Zürcher Zeitung, one of the most respectable newspapers in Western Europe, well known both for its journalistic traditions and its undisguised hostility to the Soviet Union. Observing that calls "to help Gorbachev," meaning help in the pursuance of the course he has charted, are now being heard in Western Europe, the paper asks: should this be done?

The question is examined from three angles. First, how clearly defined has this course become in the past two years and whither is it leading? Second, "under what circumstances could the marked success of the course proclaimed by Gorbachev towards modernizing the Soviet Union accord with Western interests?" And lastly, can "Western behaviour in any way influence internal development of the Soviet state?"

The editorial writer finally arrives at this conclusion.

"When it comes to dealing with the Soviet Union, to give it credit in advance, so to say, is a method that has least of all proved its worth in the past. As for patience, however, we must be as patient as the Russians themselves. The more so since Western policy is hardly in a position at present to influence Soviet domestic developments. The new course, which Gorbachev by all indications has conceived for generations ahead, is to be carried out by himself as the leader of the Party and by his associates. We have no grounds for euphoria. But we have sufficient grounds to follow developments in the Soviet Union in the coming years with curiosity and interest."

After reading that editorial, my first impulse, as a journalist who has frequently been angered by the position of the Neue Zürcher, was to give vent to wrathful rebuttal of the editorial writer and those who arrogate to themselves the right to sit in judgement of what is happening in our country. No matter what happens they proceed to dictate terms and resort to the tried and tested method of discrediting us in advance.

But I did not succumb to that initial impulse. After all, what if we brand Neue Zürcher staff writers once again as incorrigible anti-communists? Will that change anything?

And so I shall try to look at that editorial from a different angle. What is noteworthy about it? In the first place, without changing its anti-communist stance, the paper confirmed the extraordinary, one might say unprecedented, interest the Western public is evincing in all that is taking place in the Soviet Union in the economic, social, political and moral spheres. That was not always the case. And since an editorial writer in Zurich is having second thoughts, something really important and serious must be happening in the West, including in those public quarters whose attitude to the Soviet state is one of hostile distrust or simple indifference.

Another interesting thing is the admission, or rather the realization, that it is high time for the West to stop counting on being able to exert any influence whatever on internal Soviet developments. You may say this is somewhat belated realization? But better late than never.

However, there is also a worse stance. Not so long ago prominent U.S. leaders close to the Reagan administration made negotiations with the Soviet Union conditional on the socialist system being changed in our country. Direct and

Frankly, at first I underestimated the depth of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and sharply criticized your political system. Now the scale of what the new generation of Soviet leaders is doing is being brought home to us. A change in electoral procedure in the Party and state will greatly extend democratic rights. The U.S.S.R. is becoming a more interesting place to live in. Formerly it took me five or ten minutes to look through all your national newspapers and magazines because their contents were all the same. Now it takes me over two hours.

We have noted the limited personnel changes. Until recently these changes were quick and drastic. The slowing down of this process indicates that the leadership is being stabilized, which will contribute to the realization of your far-reaching plans. We can see even from Hokkaido that the reforms are meeting with resistance on the part of conservative forces who hate to relinquish their privileges, and sometimes on the part of ordinary people due to inertia. Clearly, the advocates of the reforms are more numerous and more energetic. But even a minority can sometimes successfully oppose a majority.

By putting its own house in order the Soviet Union will exert a profound influence on the alignment of forces in the world. We have the impression that after Reykjavik Moscow has been giving more attention to domestic matters, having been confronted with Reagan's intransigence. In the wake of the Party's Central Committee's plenum the Soviet Union can be expected to take a more active foreign policy line. We hope there will be initiatives in the field of Soviet-Japanese relations too, and that Gorbachev will visit Japan this year.

Some of our American colleagues would prefer to see continued economic stagnation in the U.S.S.R. and a weakening of its role in the world. For our part we believe that a strong and confident Soviet Union is a more attractive partner in negotiations and cooperation. ■

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indirect demands of this kind have sounded and still sound in many of the pronouncements of the President himself and his closest associates. This attitude is widespread also in West European conservative quarters.

As can be seen from the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, however, there exists another point of view, one that is far more realistic. Indeed, today you will hardly find any respectable Western newspaper voicing the hope that the Soviet Union will "return to capitalism."

True, another variant of "Western influence" policy has appeared. It is aimed at retarding our advance, in particular by involving the Soviet Union in the arms race. Some militarists still hope to compel us to "arm ourselves to death." To bear this out, let me cite a statement made by a leading U.S. political scientist (I shall not give his name in deference to the "rules of the game" at the international conference at which we debated the issue). He said quite frankly that the policy of the United States is to use the Soviet Union's economic difficulties as a lever to influence it in the desired direction.

Of course, the proponents of such a policy would like to see the Soviet Union weakened as much as possible. To say that this is a shortsighted policy is an understatement. It is the logic of those who would perpetuate the confrontation. "What's bad for my neighbour is good for me," is a philistine credo unfit even for ordinary human intercourse, not to speak of the sphere of rational international relations. The successes scored by the Soviet people in conducting their own affairs will be of benefit to other nations as well.

It is highly noteworthy that some comments carried in serious West European publications voice the view that what is happening in the U.S.S.R. today is strengthening it. I must admit that I was rather surprised at the way the Neue Zürcher deals with the public debate in the U.S.S.R. around the problem of strengthening democracy. The paper writes that there are some people in the U.S.S.R. who consider the new measures to be "a sign of weakness," and even "capitulation to the West," intimating, however, that it does not agree with them.

The Neue Zürcher Zeitung is not alone in this view. Many capitalist publications concede that the restructuring strengthens the Soviet Union and its international position, heightens confidence in it, makes possible a broader political dialogue with it. For example, the influential weekly Die Zeit, whose publishers are ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the Countess Donhöff, regards the "openness proclaimed by Gorbachev" as a signal "that should be heeded by the peoples." "The West," the weekly says, "should only welcome it when Communist leaders seek broad-minded ways of strengthening their countries."

Of course, there is the old caution: beware of the approbation of the opponent. But how long are we to go by this convenient formula? After all, what is at issue is not a final break that would plunge the world into the abyss of confrontation. It is a matter of making use of a historic chance to find a way to overcome confrontation. And to overcome our own prejudices, the old stereotypes at the same time.

I already foresee the foreign editors of Neue Zürcher, headed by my old and respected acquaintance Christian Kind, bombarding me with questions about all manner of "things to be overcome"—what about this, that and the next thing? Very well, let us take, one by one, all the disputed issues in both the Soviet and Western positions. That is what the Soviet foreign policy initiatives call for. And this is facilitated also by the internal restructuring under way in our country, the problems of which were discussed at the recent Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

To return to the question of "credit in advance." Are we in need of trust? Yes, provided it is mutual trust. The Soviet Union's policy on the world arena in recent years and months, especially since its programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century, has been not "trust in advance," but trust in practice.

And what about "help"? There can be no question of the restructuring in the Soviet Union depending on the West—its being a success if the West helps and our lagging behind economically and technologically if it doesn't. History has conclusively demonstrated the fallacy and naivety of such assumptions. Of course we can get along without the West. But the fact is that the development of good-neighbourly relations, political and economic, is not only in our interests but in the interests of the Western countries as well. Such relations could lead to what the Neue Zürcher calls "more civilized behaviour." Such help would harm no one. On the contrary, it would help both the Soviet Union and the West to ensure a peaceful future for their citizens. Peace can be upheld not in conflict but in friendship with one another. That is, perhaps, the maximum programme.

As for the minimum programme, I should like to repeat what one Soviet collective-farm leader, speaking in Moscow, said—true, in a somewhat different context—"Let us not interfere with one another."

LEV BEZYMENSKY
New Times political analyst

ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

A Dangerous Tendency

● JAPAN'S DECISION TO LIFT THE BUDGETARY CEILING ON MILITARY SPENDING HAS FAILED TO ATTRACT WIDESPREAD COMMENT IN THE PRESS OF MOST COUNTRIES.

Tokyo's move is fraught with more serious consequences for the region than is now believed.

The Nakasone government has done its utmost to prevent its decision attracting much attention. The political row in Washington and reports on the Prime Minister's visit to Europe and the Foreign Minister's Pacific trip eclipsed all other news. Moreover, Japan's military spending will exceed the previous limit by only 0.004 per cent in the new fiscal year. So it was not this seemingly token figure but the more substantial and very real sums the government's planned tax reform may cost millions of Japanese that compelled the opposition parties to boycott the parliament's session.

The adoption by Tokyo of this long-term scheme has certainly not passed unnoticed by the military in all the neighbouring states, who now have to calculate the balance of strategic forces in the region with this new component taken into consideration. This is no simple equation—the new component is not a constant but a variable tending to increase. This makes the balance unstable, as noted not only by Moscow and Peking, but by all those who follow the dynamics of Japan's military policy.

"Inform Baghdad of the location of the Iranian forces and drop off the arms at Teheran."

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

The Pentagon welcomed the move, but its enthusiasm was somewhat dampened by the worried voice of Henry Kissinger, one-time U.S. Secretary of State. His long article on the rearmament of Japan was carried by the newspaper Newsday and, a day later, reprinted by the Washington Post (with minor changes). Kissinger warns that, having removed the budgetary barrier, Japan will inevitably emerge as a major military power. "...All this imposes on the United States the need to undertake a long overdue reassessment of its security interests in Asia," he writes.

What made Kissinger sound the alarm? American politicians and the military usually proceed from the premise that the strengthening of the Self-Defence Forces is in U.S. interests and urge their Japanese partners to arm. Tokyo agrees with them, while scaring its citizens by the "threat from the north." Kissinger rejects this premise outright. Modest in numerical strength as they are, he writes, the Self-Defence Forces are perfectly equal to deterring a potential aggressor. With its armed forces Japan simply wishes to play the role of a superpower, albeit on a regional scale. "Enthusiasm for quick fixes," the former Secretary of State points out, "is a dangerous guide for foreign policy. Major rearmament would set in motion developments and temptations not deducible from contempora-

ry pronouncements. . . . Any increase in strength by one country produces almost automatic adjustments by all other nations in a position to see to their own security."

Tokyo's military moves will certainly cause the regional arms race, already moving rapidly enough, to spiral. China will follow Japanese actions closely. The strengthening of the Japanese armed forces will hardly leave Southeast Asia cold. The "compensatory" military measures taken by any of these states will, in turn, stir their neighbours to action; all this will alert a very wide range of states from Australia to North Korea, from India and Mongolia to the Philippines and Indonesia. Asia is full of old sores which, like unhealed wounds, may start bleeding at any moment.

What really worries Kissinger is not the likelihood of new tragedies, but the very real prospect of the U.S. losing its influence in the region. Indeed, he reproaches his government with having no Asian policy.

Moscow's active diplomacy in the East has caught both Washington and Tokyo unawares and compelled them to revise their tactics. The United States hastened to offer loans to small South Pacific states which, in their pursuit of independence, are establishing contacts with the Soviet Union—common international practice. For its part, Japan has come up with a programme, the first of its kind in postwar history, for economic assistance to the Pacific countries.

The constructive policy pursued by the socialist countries in Asia has added to their prestige and to the weight they carry in regional and world affairs. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Mongolian People's Republic and the United States is evidence of this, the Japanese newspaper Asahi comments.

While in Moscow, Mongolian Foreign Minister Mangalin Duguersuren discussed with Soviet leaders the new steps taken by the two countries to promote universal security in Asia. This region is now in special need of what it has lacked so far—a dynamic and comprehensive diplomacy. This, however, is not to be "power diplomacy" as exemplified by Tokyo's shortsighted decision to go ahead with the unbridled buildup of its Self-Defence Forces.

LEONID MLECHIN

NICARAGUA

Fighting the Black Market

● DEFENDING AND ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION CALLS FOR TITANIC EFFORTS ON THE PART OF THE NICARAGUANS—AND NOT ONLY IN COMBAT ACTION AGAINST THE U.S.-ARMED CONTRAS. ONE OF THE MANY PRESSING PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE GOVERNMENT IS OVERCOMING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

Solving this problem is further complicated by profiteering, which has recently assumed considerable dimensions. The causes of this social evil vary. Nicaragua is having a hard time. Many things are in short supply. Inflation is rampant. A chronic shortage of hard currency is telling on the economy, creating an acute shortage of the raw and other materials, spares and equipment necessary for simple reproduction.

The U.S. trade boycott of Nicaragua is also having a pernicious effect on the Nicaraguan economy, which for years depended chiefly on the U.S. and its technology. Some factories still get their spares from the United States. Addressing a session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean in Mexico recently, Victor Tirado Lopez, a member of the national directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, cited statistics that put the damage caused to Nicaragua by the United States' undisguised aggression at over $2.8 billion (more than 50 per cent of Nicaragua's total foreign debt).

The agricultural north of the country suffers most from the contras' raids. Somozists destroy agricultural installations, cooperatives, bridges and power transmission lines, and disrupt coffee and cotton harvesting.

Nicaragua's current problems have objective causes as well. Labour discipline is not yet quite what it should be and many supply organizations and departments function inefficiently.

The Managua paper El Nuevo Diario is of the opinion that goods are finding their way onto the black market largely because warehouses, supply centres and numerous small shops, most of them private, are poorly supervised.

The government has tried to keep the prices of prime necessities down by means of state subsidies. More often than not, however, this measure has only served to enrich black marketeers who hoard cheap goods and then sell them at a profit. In Managua alone 28,000 get-rich-quick traders have appeared lining their pockets through illegal business deals.

Recently, reporters from El Nuevo Diario inspected a number of shops, restaurants and markets as part of a sweeping anti-profiteering campaign. The inspection revealed that at one of the capital's crowded "oriental" markets, selected at random, half the traders were breaching the customer protection law by selling all their wares at inflated prices. Some vendors overcharge for beer and soft drinks which are extremely popular with Nicaraguans. The reporters discovered an uneven distribution of drinks among restaurants and bars: some are better stocked and others worse, depending on how much money the managers shell out to delivery truck drivers in bribes.

Lately the papers and radio have been vigorously exposing profiteers, and the revolutionary authorities are taking resolute action to smash the black market. As a result of a series of anti-profiteer operations carried out in Managua last month, police retrieved large quantities of medicines, grain, sugar and butter laid up "under the counter." In the neighbourhood of Oscar Benavides, black market traders offered policemen resistance, spitting insults at them and even picking fights. Nevertheless, operation Iron Out Profiteering was carried through with broad support from the working people in defence of the achievements of the revolution.

VLADIMIR DOLGOV
our own correspondent

Managua

U.S.A.—SOUTH AFRICA

Position Unchanged

● AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO AND U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ MET IN WASHINGTON ON JANUARY 28.

It is the first time that ANC leaders and U.S. officials have entered into such high-level contacts. There is no denying the importance of this event, and one can agree with those who believe it to indicate a change in U.S. policy with regard to South Africa. The change, however, means no more than that Washington has probably come to realize that no settlement can be achieved in South Africa without this leading anti-rac-

ist organization. However, far from all have realized that. The NBC television company reported that the State Department had worked for this meeting against the White House's resistance. In fact, resistance did not come from the White House alone. The idea of inviting the ANC president to the United States was also opposed by Pretoria sympathizers of whom there are not a few on Capitol Hill and outside it. They even formed a hasty "coalition against ANC terrorism" and conducted a protest demonstration, demanding that the Secretary of State talk Tambo into condemning violence and tell him that otherwise the U.S. would object to the ANC's participation in deciding the political future of South Africa.

Exhorting Shultz to do that is like forcing an open door. According to a State Department spokesman, Shultz restricted the agenda of his 50-minute meeting with Tambo to the question of the ANC's stand on violent action. He reminded the ANC president that the U.S. had repeatedly called on the South African government and the ANC to sign an agreement to end violence and start negotiations. Such calls did come from Washington, but they were hypocritical. After all, there is no need to press the ANC into a dialogue: its leaders have always favoured a peaceful solution of the problems involved in the abolition of apartheid. Moreover, Tambo asked the U.S. to mediate negotiations between the whites and the blacks, although under the circumstances the chances of such negotiations taking place are slim because Pretoria would not hear of them.

Another victim of the racist regime.

TASS photo

Shultz's attempt to have the ANC give up armed action was unsuccessful, for that would amount to unilateral disarmament by the ANC at a time when South Africa's police and army have actually occupied black settlements. Stronger pressure must be brought to bear on Pretoria, Tambo said, in order to make negotiations possible. He referred to the sanctions imposed on South Africa by the U.S. Congress as encouraging if inadequate; only comprehensive sanctions, he said, would bring the racists to reason.

Shultz was not prepared even to discuss this, saying the U.S. position as regards sanctions remains unchanged. So the ANC leader in fact failed to have any changes made in the U.S. administration's pro-racist policy. Neither had Tambo expected to succeed, judging from the statements he made on the eve of his arrival in Washington. What mattered to the ANC was the very fact of its leader meeting with the U.S. Secretary of State, which testified to the international prestige of the militant anti-racist organization.

As for the U.S., there are indications that it is already thinking of ways to maintain its foothold in South Africa after the racist regime collapses and the black majority takes over. In anticipation of this happening, the U.S. leaders are seeking to make contacts with various political trends in South Africa. Reagan, for instance, has repeatedly met with Gatsha Buthelezi, the leader of the black majority moderates, who pin their hopes on the racists' "good will." It is these moderates that Washington is counting on most. Unwilling to put all its eggs in one basket, however, the U.S. State Department decided to make contact with the African National Congress as well.

YURI BOCHKARYOV

SWEDEN

Inquiry Deadlocked

● OLOF PALME WOULD HAVE BEEN SIXTY ON JANUARY 30. THE SEARCH FOR THE CRIMINALS, WHO TOOK HIS LIFE A YEAR AGO, CONTINUES.

Police tried to round up the murderers in a Stockholm district at daybreak on January 20, detaining and questioning 20 suspects.

Hans Holmer, Stockholm police chief, and his group of detectives were led to that part of the Swedish capital by what they believed to be the "main trail." "I am 95 per cent sure," he said shortly before the operation, 'that we are on the right track." What made him so sure, and where did he expect the "main trail" to take him?

A member of the Kurdish Workers Party (KWP), regarded by the Swedish government as a terrorist organization, was killed in Stockholm in November 1985—probably in revenge for his withdrawal from the KWP. While investigating the murder police came to doubt that it was the work of just one person, and arrested three suspects. Their testimony furnished a clue to the Palme murder mystery. This, at any rate, was what Senior Procurator Claes Zeime and Hans Holmer said at a press conference arranged in the evening of the same day.

Numerous journalists, myself included, had to queue up to enter the Police Department building; every one of us was searched from head to toe. We hoped that the long wait and the ordeal of the search would be rewarded by some important new facts relating to Olof Palme's assassination. We were in for a disappointment. It turned out that no substantial progress had been made in solving the crime.

One of the detainees, a 38-year-old Swede of Finnish descent, said at first that he had helped to procure the pistol Palme was shot with. On the following day, however, he withdrew his testimony. No evidence to condemn the detainees was found, and the suspicion of their involvement in the crime looked groundless. The group of procurators (with Claes Zeime at the head) appointed to supervise the investigation last year was not happy about this.

For almost a year since the investigation began the

Swedish media have been reporting on the differences between the procurators and the detectives handling the case. Incidentally, Claes Zeime mentioned these differences at the press conference. According to the paper Expressen, the "complete rift" was obvious to all. Resentment is mutual. The procurators say that the "main trail" is an idée fixe with Holmer, who cannot adduce any convincing proof of the KWP having anything to do with the murder. For their part, the investigators complain of the procurators interfering with their work and rushing them. In fact, the police action in Stockholm was carried out under pressure from the procurators who were sceptical of Holmer's theory and wanted to dot all the i's. The police chief had to act on the "sink or swim" principle. The failure of the action put Holmer in an awkward position.

These differences are hardly of any help in unravelling the mystery of Olof Palme's murder. It looks, however, as if the "main trail" led the investigators up a blind alley. The procurator ran out of patience.

"We must go back to where we started, inspect the scene of the crime and question the eyewitnesses again," Claes Zeime says. He is certain that interesting new leads can be found.

It has been decided to form a parliamentary commission to follow the progress of the investigation.

DMITRY POGORZHELSKY
our special correspondent

Stockholm

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION

Anxieties and Hopes

● ALTHOUGH DESCRIBED AS "ROUTINE," THE FIFTH CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE MEMBER STATES, HELD IN KUWAIT LATE IN JANUARY, PROCEEDED IN WHAT CAN BE CHARACTERIZED AS AN EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION.

Sheikh Jaber al-Sabah, Emir of Kuwait, said at the opening ceremony that since imperialism and Zionism had started encroaching on Arab lands, the Moslem world had constantly encountered violence and aggression. Millions of people professing Islam felt the searing pain of regional and local conflagrations still unextinguished or just sparked off in various parts of the Islamic world. The fate of the world at large is also near to Moslem hearts. Even those who have never seen winter realize what the threat of "nuclear winter" is.

The Organization of Islamic Conference was established at a meeting of the leaders of the Moslem countries in Rabat in 1969 shortly after the Israeli Zionists tried to burn one of the chief Moslem sanctuaries—the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. All the top-level forums that followed were convened in periods when the situation had become aggravated. The second conference met in Lahore in 1974, soon after the end of the October 1973 war in the Middle East. The participants in the third conference in Mecca in 1981 concentrated on the situation in the Gulf zone in connection with the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. The fourth conference (Casablanca, 1984) discussed the critical situation in Lebanon caused by the American-Israeli-NATO intervention.

This time, the situation became critical in several parts of the Moslem world at once—in the Middle East and northern and central Africa. The Zionists' attempt to blow up another sanctuary—the mosque in El-Khalil in the West Bank Jordan—was taken by the conference as an insult to the entire Moslem world. The continued ostentatious concentration of U.S. naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf is of a still more defiant nature. The echo of war reached Kuwait, as well: the oil fields on Kuwait's Faylakah Island were shelled, and two shattering explosions thundered in the capital itself. Participants in the forum were threatened by anonymous extremists. This made it necessary to take tight security precautions.

The statements made at the conference and the final documents it adopted mirrored the concern of over 40 states about the exacerbation of world tension in general and the explosive situation in the traditional domain of Islam. Many speakers pointed to the need to cement Moslem solidarity under the circumstances. The final declaration described the Kuwait forum as a "Moslem solidarity conference."

The conference condemned U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation and urged "effective measures to counter the threat emanating from this alliance."

The forum supported the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East with the attendance of permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all the interested parties, including the PLO, the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

The forum reaffirmed the demand that the Israeli troops be completely withdrawn from all the occupied Arab territories and that the Palestinian people's right to self-determination be recognized. It condemned the intrigues against Lebanon, the U.S. aggression against Libya, and the hostile campaign against Syria and other Moslem countries.

The participants in the Kuwait forum condemned state terrorism and rejected attempts to identify terrorism with the lawful liberation struggle of the peoples against all forms of colonialism and racism.

The Iran-Iraq conflict was high on the conference's agenda, but no key to its settlement was found. The participants called on Iran and Iraq to conclude an armistice and start moving towards a political settlement. Judging from the latest communiqués from the Iran-Iraq front, however, this call fell on deaf ears. Teheran boycotted the conference altogether because of the presence of Baghdad representatives at it.

The forum welcomed efforts to achieve a political settlement in Afghanistan. However, it did not make its own contribution towards this settlement. This was largely due to the earlier decision—still in force—to suspend Afghanistan's membership of the Organization of Islamic Conference. The decision was adopted several years ago under pressure from the very forces that oppose a peaceful settlement.

Almost all speakers ended their addresses with the traditional Moslem greeting "As-Salamu Aleikum" (Peace be with you). Never in the history of Islam has it had greater political significance or expressed more ardent aspirations than now, when the future of the planet is at stake.

LEONID MEDVEDKO

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Valentin Tolstykh:

"SPIRITUAL ROCKET" INTO THE 21st CENTURY

Dr Valentin Tolstykh is a professor of philosophy

The question of ways of safeguarding peace in a world free of nuclear weapons is almost futurological—and yet vital and relevant for the whole of mankind.

While thinking about answers to it, I recalled a recent meeting of Soviet and American sociologists, political scientists, philosophers, economists and science-fiction writers in the old mansion of the House of Men of Letters in Moscow. They discussed what the world would be like after the year 2000 and in the far more distant future. What most struck me was the daring with which serious and realistic people gazed into the distant future and their optimistic belief that peace would be preserved and mankind would live forever.

The word "rocket" was pronounced on that night—but in a very unusual context. One of those present suggested that the two great powers should combine efforts to create a "spiritual rocket" and launch it into the distant future. Of course, it is a demanding task. We will have to unravel "the meaning of life" and the mysterious relationship between finite existence and eternal being, and be critical of ourselves to warn coming generations that prosperity and economic growth in themselves do not make people happy under any social conditions.

Joining in the conversation, I said that I envied futurologists and science-fiction writers their capacity to discuss "scenarios for the future" at a time when not only peace campaigners but also farsighted politicians and sensible military leaders were increasingly aware of the very real and continuous threat of self-destruction hanging over our world. This alone prompts one to wonder about the sources of optimism of those who believe in the future of peace, or indeed in any future at all.

What makes our time unique is that for the first time in history the future of humanity as a whole as well as of every individual depends on our ability, the ability of everyone to safeguard peace. The revolution in military technology, taking place before our very eyes, has dramatically changed the situation and called in question many conventional ideas and concepts. Few people could even have imagined a mere 30-40 years ago that the simple, down-to-earth, almost shameful instinct to survive would become an obsession with a huge number of people, virtually everyone, except those fascinated by the gamble called "war" to a point where they have duped themselves into thinking that the thermonuclear fate will pass them by.

The new reality has come to stay: war has become unthinkable. No social system can now consider war as a means of attaining political goals.

This is an objective truth and many people are yet to come to terms with it as an imperative in social life today, the absolute truth. Belief in the future of peace therefore rests, strange as it may seem, on the sufficiently firm foundation created by the strikingly controversial development of human civilization.

It is an illusion that anyone's security in our "mad, mad world" can be guaranteed through weapons and fear of possible retaliation. It is not security that relies on weapons and the fear of "mutually assured destruction"—we have none. All of us, regardless of the system we belong to, are living from dawn to dusk (if one can call it life in the full sense of the word) with the fear that something unimaginable and irreversible could happen any moment.

It is only a fragile equilibrium, likely to be shattered at any moment, ~~that~~ rests on the fear and threat of thermonuclear annihilation. It is only a desperate person entangled in a web of contradictions, be he politician or man in the street, that can call this state "security" and a guarantee of survival.

The real drama of our age, which could at any moment become tragedy, is that few of us can imagine today that the familiar world we are living in could one day become a world without weapons. We should not, of course, attach too much importance to human dreams. Yet we should not underestimate them either, as conventional dogmas that have long outlived their usefulness continue to be meat and drink to many politicians, ideologists and military men.

The universal application of the wise warning, "do not insist on your pet idea," has not yet been universally recognized either in everyday life or in politics. The point is not the betrayal of principles and convictions, for the sake of which a man can lay down his life, but the ability to convince people without forcing one's view down their throats. No one has ever made anyone happy by force.

The veracity of the sweeping assertion, "there are more important things than peace," is rather dubious. But even if we admit a measure of truth in it, we should say right away that the proponent of this argument should sacrifice peace, life and the existence of the world at his own risk (and not that of others). Indeed, there are too many advocates of "progress," "freedom" and "justice" at someone else's expense.

Without oversimplifying the problem, a complex one with many stumbling blocks, let us try to answer the question put above. Can there be a safe world without weapons? There are, alas, not one but two answers.

No, there cannot. There can be no safety if, disarming itself, the world remains as it is today, that is, divided by petty antagonisms, if each social system keeps insisting on its own "pet ideas," and imposing its way of thinking and living on the other side, and if intolerance, suspicion, complacency and arrogance continue to dominate relations between states and peoples.

Yes, there can. Safety is possible if the world itself changes along with disarmament, and if simple norms of morality and justice are asserted in relations between states and peoples, if the right of every nation to choose its historic path of development becomes an inviolable principle of the further development of civilization and if social systems assert their "superiority" in efforts to resolve the numerous problems and contradictions confronting humanity which are a disgrace to our civilization and intolerable for people with keen consciences.

It seems more than time to have another look at the framework and goals of talks that have been dragging on for years. Attempts should be made to build a different world, one that will have no need for weapons and therefore no problem of security. Perhaps the agenda of new talks could be formulated as the principles of building a world without weapons.

Those who think this proposal premature or utopian should be referred back to the beginning of this article: the question is futurological as well as vital and concrete, while the whole point of new thinking is not merely to accept the truth of reality, of facts, but also to devise a model of a world without weapons and rectify the largely dubious benefits of civilization as it is today. Civilization itself and its capacity to survival and renewal is being put to the test.

A few years ago, when debates on "flying saucers" were at their height, I asked a world-famous Soviet physicist if the arrival of "extra-terrestrials" was plausible. The venerable academician replied: "I think not: a civilization capable of accomplishing this task intellectually, technically and technologically is bound to destroy itself before carrying through such a project." The very fact that the problem we are now discussing has arisen should make us give heed to the view (or warning?) of that leading scientist.

■

Poster by N. and A. Yemelyanenko submitted for the international contest For Peace and Social Progress.

Jean Verstappen:

CREATE A COMMUNITY OF BROTHERHOOD AND PEACE

Jean Verstappen is a former member of the Belgian parliament and member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council

NATO leaders claim that peace has been maintained for 40 years thanks to their military policy and nuclear strategy. A debatable statement, to say the least.

Peace implies stable and friendly relations between all countries. What we have in Europe is the absence of war. The continent has more conventional and nuclear weapons than anywhere else in the world and these pose a constant threat. Moreover, the past 40 years have seen dozens of wars in other parts of the world and armed conflicts continue to rage in many places today. The stockpiling of nuclear weapons in quantities sufficient to destroy all life on earth, and the spread of nuclear weapons to outer space dangerously increase the threat of conflict. It is an unnatural process and a policy that spurs it on is an irresponsible one.

Is a nuclear-free world still attainable? It must be. The planet is confronted with many acute problems: hunger, disease, poverty, unemployment, foreign indebtedness, the pollution and destruction of the environment. The list is far from complete. And yet man was made to create, teach and love, and not to destroy and degrade. He longs to see development and technological progress serve truly humane purposes.

To justify their policy of nuclear arms buildup, Western leaders speak of a "Soviet threat," a myth promulgated by the Western mass media.

However, every sober-minded person realizes that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are primarily concerned with building a prosperous economy to demonstrate the superiority of their social system. The pursuit of a policy of confrontation and the arms race would be a serious impediment to the plans for the development of socialist society.

By contrast, the myth of the "Soviet threat" is invoked to justify the massive production of armaments, both conventional and nuclear, ensures superprofits and increases the wealth of the military-industrial complex. That is why the Western leaders have chosen the strategy of

deterrence. They exaggerate the strength of the Soviet armed forces to give themselves a pretext for manufacturing more military hardware and raising the level of military confrontation. For the same reason, they engage in preparations for "star wars" and adhere to their model of society in which a privileged minority cruelly exploits its own population and the peoples of the Third World. But to this diabolical perspective there is an alternative that benefits all the inhabitants of our planet.

The fateful process must be reversed: the nuclear arms race and the militarization of outer space must be stopped and nuclear tests banned. Simultaneously negotiations must begin on balanced, verifiable, progressing disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, and the introduction of norms of international relations based not on force, but on mutual understanding and cooperation must be discussed. This will promote trade, economic, technological and cultural cooperation between East and West, North and South. It will become possible to develop joint approaches to tackling cardinal problems, and gear financial resources and industry towards goals corresponding to the interests of all countries and peoples. Scientific and technological progress will serve the social and cultural development of mankind.

Is this a utopian programme? The leaders of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, the group of six countries representing four continents, the Palme Commission, the U.N. and many other organizations have tabled numerous proposals to this end. The unilateral suspension of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union should also be mentioned. The Gorbachev-Reagan meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik have shown that the two superpowers can reach agreements. However, while these agreements are necessary, they are not enough. It is necessary that small countries, especially in Europe, and members of NATO, the Warsaw Treaty and the non-aligned movement alike should be involved in negotiations and decision-making.

The year 1986 has come to an end and with it the International Year of Peace. Its overall result is by no means negligible. The vigilance of the world peace movement, the Soviet proposals, growing discontent with Reagan's policy in the U.S. Congress, the stance of the non-aligned countries, and the desire of some industrial and financial quarters in the West to promote détente—all this is evidence that an overwhelming majority of people the world over want to see armaments abolished and a community of brotherhood, peace and justice established. ■

Aspects of That Madness

The reflections of Robert McNamara

Sometimes words stick together as a result of frequent use in certain combinations, which then begin to be perceived almost as organic entities. The madness of the arms race, for instance, is one such customary verbal cluster.

Why madness? In London, Paris and some other West European capitals it is contended that nuclear arms have ensured forty-odd years of peace in Europe and will ensure it further. It can be conceded that more nuclear arms have been stockpiled than the minimum needed to deter a potential aggressor, that the bridge has been built wider than the river it spans, but that the bridge is still needed.

In short, the diagnosis of madness as applied to the arms race needs a proper anamnesis by a competent doctor.

In his book "Blundering into Disaster" Robert McNamara emerges in the role of such a specialist.

The eighth Secretary of Defence of the United States headed the Pentagon under Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. He headed it so energetically that the sum total of the reforms he carried out became known as the "McNamara revolution." In particular, the plans to build up nuclear arms inherited from the Eisenhower administration were revised. They were drastically augmented and the time allocated for their implementation reduced.

Yet already at that time McNamara was beginning to think about the law of diminishing returns, according to which every new increase in the use of resources yields a proportionally smaller increase in overall defence possibilities. Already at that time McNamara contended that there is a physical ceiling for the arsenal of strategic nuclear arms, to surpass which would be sheer waste. He also believed then that there was no need to have more than 1,600 intercontinental ballistic missiles and, simultaneously, before they are written off, 1,000 bombers.

This thought even found its reflection in the military allocations for the 1965 fiscal year when spending on missiles was halved as compared with the previous fiscal year.

And then there appeared multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs), and the count in warheads began. According to Soviet data, as of October 11, 1986, the United States had 14,800 warheads mounted on strategic delivery vehicles while the Soviet Union had 10,000.

How did the bridge become so much wider than the river?

In McNamara's opinion, military development followed the flow of military technological thinking without any foresight or guidance, by force of momentum. He writes in his book that the thousands of warheads "that each nation possesses did not come about through any plan. Instead, they emerged through the indiscriminate application of continuing technical innovations and the persistent failure to recognize that nuclear explosions are not weapons in any traditional sense."

It should be specified here that the Soviet Union invited the United States to stop, and not, for instance, create the MIRVs that would destabilize the situation, or build new types of submarine (Ohio and Typhoon respectively). Full of technological arrogance and bent on surpassing the U.S.S.R. on the next lap of the progress in military technology, Washington invariably refused—in the eternal pursuit of the dream of military superiority under cover of statements about the need to prevent the other side from achieving it.

"While serving as Secretary," McNamara recalls, "I was repeatedly forced to make decisions about the forces we would begin to build today to balance Soviet forces that we believed might exist tomorrow. Such decisions were speculative, based on incomplete, often contradictory and constantly changing information."

In 1961, McNamara writes, the United States had 68 ICBMs and had placed orders for several hundred more by 1965, because it proceeded from the worst interpretation of Soviet intentions. But "we misjudged Soviet intentions," he admits. In 1965 the ratio of American to Soviet missiles was 1,050 to 225.

McNamara is convinced that present

nuclear arsenals are overstocked. What number of such warheads could be considered sufficient for minimum deterrence? According to the author's present estimates, 500 at the most and "very possibly it would be far less."

The former head of the Pentagon recalls that as early as 1958-59 the U.S. naval command proposed limiting nuclear arsenals to an "invulnerable retaliatory force of approximately 464 warheads."

I will add that something similar was proposed by Oscar Morgenstern in his book "The Problem of National Defence." This professor from Princeton University, co-author of the theory of games, used both logic and mathematics to substantiate his conclusions.

How has it happened that nuclear arsenals are metastasizing like cancer cells?

One answer is in the autonomous self-perpetuation of the arms race, in progress for the sake of progress in military-technological thinking. Another is in the economic interest of military monopolies. A third is in the narrow interests of the military. A fourth is in the similarly narrow but seemingly more high-minded interests of scientists working in military laboratories.

McNamara speaks of the third—the military in combination with armchair strategists who invent scenarios for nuclear conflicts. He writes that both in his time and today military development in the United States has proceeded from plans for victory in nuclear war. But now they no longer write about "victory," since this word is somehow inappropriate to radioactive ruins, but about "prevailing" in an "exchange of nuclear strikes." The book contains the views of the U.S. Department of Defence on principles of defence in 1984-88.

"Should deterrence fail and strategic nuclear war with the U.S.S.R. occur, the United States must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favourable to the United States."

Accordingly, the United States is modernizing and increasing its nuclear arsenal for the sake of the so-called "ability to wage war." Yet many people there admit that there will be no war in the traditional sense. Instead, there will be wholesale slaughter, an apocalypse, a dual suicide along with the rest of the world, a last fatal epidemic in a nuclear winter, a Cliocide, anything but a division of the participants in the madness into victors and vanquished.

It is time to end this madness of the arms race. McNamara writes: "Were we to drop futile war-fighting notions, we would see that many things we already have or are busily acquiring are either superfluous or downright dangerous to us, no matter what the Soviets do. Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe are a prime example."

Indeed, McNamara writes further, the whole of NATO strategy is based on the threat of first use of nuclear arms. But the conclusion that the use of nuclear arms in Europe, just so-called tactical nuclear arms, "will not defend Europe, but destroy it" had already been reached as far back as 1955 during the Carte Blanche exercises. The former Secretary of Defence admits that he does not know of a single plan which would demonstrate that the use of nuclear arms serves the defence interests of the NATO countries. Nobody has yet invented such a plan. Meanwhile the members of the North Atlantic bloc intend to put to use their tactical nuclear arsenal of 5,000 warheads (according to McNamara) in the early stages of a conflict. This would result in the destruction of Europe and the entire world.

Is this not madness?

I hear the objection that all this is being done for the sake of deterrence. But we in Moscow read documents from the U.S. Department of Defence and one of them was quoted above. We in Moscow keep an eye on the parameters of American military development. And although the U.S. does not intend to attack, McNamara writes, the Soviets cannot be blamed for thinking otherwise. To illustrate his point he refers to the decision to deploy 50 MX missiles in shafts that are considered vulnerable. According to McNamara, the Soviets can find only one plausible explanation for this decision: these missiles are part of the American first-strike force and there will be no missiles in the vulnerable shafts if and when they retaliate.

The U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative is viewed in similar light by Moscow. There is no escape from a first strike. But there is a temptation to think that even an imperfect ABM system might offer protection from a weakened return strike, McNamara writes, just as an umbrella with holes will not protect from a downpour but will be useful in the event of a drizzle.

In McNamara's opinion, SDI will result in a rapid acceleration of the arms race which even as it is is approaching the infinite in its futility.

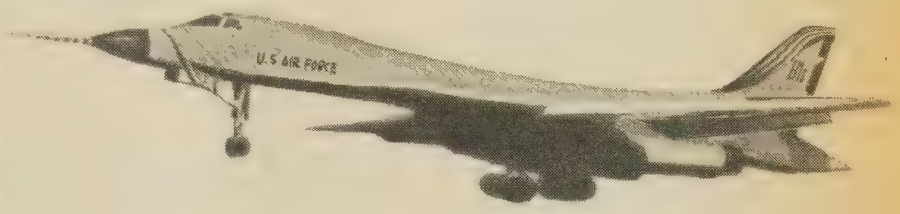
While urging a drastic reduction of arsenals of strategic nuclear arms and the liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons, which are dangerous by their very irrationality, McNamara nevertheless does not go to the logical conclusion and call for the abolition of nuclear arms altogether.

There is no trust, he infers, and what about verification? One concealed bomb will make nuclear blackmail a reality.

It is clear that trust between members of the international community should grow as we approach a nuclear-free world. It may well be possible to invent and introduce sufficient control over nuclear materials and missiles. In any case, considered as a challenge to the intellect, this problem is on a more modest scale than SDI, and the Manhattan Project itself.

Besides, what alternative do we have? The madness of the arms race?

GENNADY GERASIMOV



The new American strategic bomber B-1B which McNamara's successors believe capable of penetrating Soviet air defences and delivering a nuclear strike.

Robert McNamara, author of the book "Blundering Into Disaster."

Photos from Le Nouvel Observateur (France) and Newsweek (U.S.A.)

To Walk an Extra Mile

While visiting Moscow, JOHAN J. HOLST, Norway's Minister for Defence, granted an interview to our correspondent Evgeny Andrianov, which follows.

Mr Holst, a year ago the Soviet Union came up with the programme for eliminating nuclear weapons towards the end of this millennium and ensuring lasting peace in a nuclear-free world. What is your view of this programme?

I think the Gorbachev programme as announced on January 15 last year, as well as the follow-up of that programme in the shape of the proposals made in Reykjavik are a constructive contribution to East-West dialogue. Although constructive, this is only the first step. Both sides have to be willing and prepared to move on, to be flexible and seek an agreement. It is very important that the countries are willing and able to "walk an extra mile," as the Americans say. This willingness to make an extra effort, a little bit more than the other side, to show good faith, is very important.

I am very encouraged by the flexibility and optimism permeating new Soviet diplomacy. I think the Americans genuinely want an agreement too, so we shall be able to make some real progress.

When we talk of a stable and peaceful world we mean a world in which we shall have to deal with many problems other than armaments. We have more than our share of these problems, common to all of us and extremely acute, environment for example. Nations have to come together to try and find ways of dealing cooperatively with common dangers threatening mankind. We live in a world in which no country can develop its economy as if it were isolated from everybody else. It is an interdependent world, and for that very reason we have to see to it that we develop habits and behaviour which are consistent with the requirements of this objective situation and do not hang onto the institutional relics of a very different period. We have to learn to think about security in new ways.

Is the banning of all nuclear arms possible, in your opinion? Do you share the view that SDI can provide one more prerequisite for a nuclear-free world?

Well, I think that's a very complicated question. The first thing I want to say is that I don't think any of us will live to see a world in which there are no weapons, or in which there are even no nuclear weapons. But I do believe that we will see substantial reductions in the number of nuclear weapons around because I think it is consonant with the interests of the major powers to agree on substantial reductions. This amassment of arms which is taking place has not produced increased security; on the contrary, arms accumulation is adding to insecurity.

I think that substantial progress was made when Gorbachev and Reagan met in Reykjavik. They went a long, albeit not the whole way towards an agreement. The Soviet and American leaders started to define the issues in terms of a broader political framework, starting, so to speak, at the top and working down, rather than starting at the bottom and working all the way up. This is very important. I think details are to be handled at the next stage within the context of definite directives and instructions.

You mentioned the Strategic Defence Initiative. I don't think we ought to worry too much about specific programmes now. I think what we ought to concentrate on is to preserve the ABM treaty of 1972, and I think it is important also to prevent the arms race from moving into outer space. Hence it would seem to me that the two major powers must come to some understanding to prevent the deployment of any kinds of weapon in space which should be used for the purposes of observation, navigation and communication.

Do you believe that the world can, in principle, be rid of nuclear weapons?

You know, my basic philosophy is that what man has made he can unmake. Man has made nuclear weapons, so he can destroy them. He cannot disinvent them, though, he has to live with them. There are plenty of things man can do that he doesn't, simply because he doesn't want to. And I think what we have to move towards is a situation where man doesn't want to have nuclear weapons any longer out of conviction that they are doing him no good.

We are a long way from such a situation. But I think we have to start moving in this direction already now, not only because of the dangers inherent in Soviet-American competition but also because an increasing number of countries are becoming capable of building nuclear weapons. The only thing we can do to prevent them from spending their money and their technical resources on the arms race is to convince them that it is wasteful and costly to do so.

And another point. The world we live in is a world of great inequalities. It's a world in which we have a small group of very privileged countries which have a lot, and a very large part of mankind which has very little. And we find it increasingly difficult for the rich countries of the North to convince the poor countries of the South that nuclear weapons are only good for us rich people in spite of the fact that they offer a cheaper way to security. It is even harder for us to tell them: you don't have much of anything, surely you cannot be interested in nuclear weapons. Therefore it is necessary for the big countries of the North to try and build a world in which nuclear weapons would not play the central role they played in the first decades after the second world war.

How do you assess the military situation on the European continent? Are there any chances of progress here?

Two blocs are confronting each other in Europe. Each has built up a very large military machine. These machines are not congruent with the political divisions that exist in Europe today. They are in some sense relics, but they remain, although political consciousness is moving fast. The same applies to the problem of strategic weapons, I think.

We have to realize that the development of military technology is moving in a direction in which warfare assumes a much higher velocity and a much higher intensity. Fears are growing in Europe that a war may break out as a result of a very rapid offensive from the other side. Hence the instability caused by reciprocal apprehensions of the other side taking the initiative in a crisis. This is very much the kind of situation in which the world found itself in 1914. However, the current situation can be got under control by joint effort. It's time all of us realized that security can no longer be viewed as something that one country achieves at the expense of another country. It has to be achieved in common. This idea must prevail in Europe.

■

Facts, Plans, Contacts

In response to requests from our readers we are giving below some items on present-day Albania taken from the press of the European socialist countries. They deal with various aspects of contemporary Albania and give an idea of its links with other countries.

At present Albania has a population of three million, one in three being under the age of 15, the Hungarian newspaper Nepszava writes. The birth rate is 32 per thousand, while the mortality rate is 4-4.5 per thousand. The average age is 26.5 and average life expectancy is 71.

It is expected that by the year 2000 the country's population will have reached four million. This means that it will require more foodstuffs, clothes, footwear and durable consumer goods. Therefore, in addition to the traditional priority given to the expansion of heavy industry, more attention will be paid to the development of farming. At the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour in 1986 Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, said that local initiative was important. As an example he cited in particular the supply of foodstuffs.

As provided for by the plan for 1986-90, the aggregate agricultural output of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is to increase at a rate of 6.4 per cent a year. In pursuit of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, it is intended to raise the level of mechanization of farming and increase the production of fertilizer and the proportion of land under irrigation. As in the past, special attention will be paid to crop-growing.

As the cooperatives are the most important factor in expanding farm output, it is all the more incumbent on them to satisfy the people's demand for meat, eggs, vegetables and fruit more fully. At the same time the congress pointed to the need for a harmonious combination of extensive and intensive methods of farming, stresses the newspaper Neues Deutschland (German Democratic Republic).

In the north of Albania, large hydropower plants have been built on the River Drin, at an altitude of 2,000 m., the Romanian newspaper Scinteia reports.

They started to build the first, 250-megawatt hydropower station at Vau i Dejes 20 years ago. Later a 500-megawatt hydropower plant was completed at Fierzö. During the seventh five-year-plan period (1981-85) the building of the country's biggest, 600-megawatt hydropower station at Koman was in progress.

The Ninth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian newspaper Otechestven Front notes, analyzed the present international situation and determined the country's foreign policy objectives. It also looked into some of the problems of the international communist and working-class movement. The congress reaffirmed the well-known positions of the Albanian Party of Labour and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

As part of this movement, the Albanian Party of Labour emphasized its sovereign right to its own opinion and views. What was said at the Ninth Congress is indicative of the present situation characterized by complex problems in the relations between socialist countries. It also reflects the various conditions in which separate parties exist and function, and the complications engendered by a subjective approach.

As the Polish newspaper Trybuna Ludu points out, Poland favours the expansion of all-round mutually advantageous cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We are eagerly following the steady growth of Polish-Albanian turnover (which is to increase from 35 million rubles in 1986 to 46 million in 1987). In exchange for our mining and construction machines, power generating equipment, coal, rolled stock and means of transportation, we receive among other items Albanian citrus fruits, wines, cigarettes, cotton fabrics, furs, asphalt, and marble.

Albania's expanding exchange with other countries is a sign of the revival of its contacts with the world. A short while ago Albania signed an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Since May 1986, the Tirana-Zurich air route has been in operation.

According to the magazine Svet Hospodarstvi (Czechoslovakia), of the CMEA member countries, Czechoslovakia is Albania's largest trading partner. In 1986 the turnover between the two countries reached 67 million rubles. In 1987 it will show an increase of 29 per cent.

Trade with the socialist countries is an indispensable element of Albanian foreign economic relations. In Albania's commodity exchange, the share of the CMEA member countries (excluding the U.S.S.R. and Mongolia) is approximately 47 per cent.

In the recent period, the Albanian government has been showing an interest in the expansion of trade contacts with capitalist countries, particularly those with which Albania has been associated geographically or by tradition, such as Greece, Italy, France and also the F.R.G.

Albania has established diplomatic relations with Spain. It is now conducting negotiations with Great Britain and the F.R.G. Tirana has been visited by delegations from many countries, including France, Austria and Norway. Though Albania's political relations with Yugoslavia have been frozen, their economic contacts are developing, writes the Yugoslav newspaper Vjesnik. In 1986 the turnover between the two countries amounted to $100 million. In 1987 it is intended to increase it to $125 million.

Above: Tirana. University Campus.

FOLLOW-UP

Your government's decision to permit joint ventures with Western firms has caused a considerable stir in the business community. To my mind, there is nothing to make a fuss about because the nature of the Soviet "command" economic system remains unchanged. Where is the guarantee that such commands will not kill all attempts to make such enterprises profitable?

GERHARD EHRLICHMANN
Düsseldorf, F.R.G.

Joint Ventures: Balance of Interests

The Soviet government's decision to set up joint enterprises with capitalist partners has provoked a stormy and controversial reaction in the West. It has been suggested that the move "amounts to the most important major change of doing business in the Soviet Union in the last century... and a major development in the economy of the world."

Some people share your opinion that joint ventures are incompatible with the Soviet economic system. Others doubt that joint ventures will succeed because the interests involved are opposed: the Soviet Union views them as an extra source of currency earnings and a means of gaining access to Western technology, while most Western firms do not want to see more competitive goods entering the world market and regard joint ventures as simply a chance to break into the vast Soviet market.

One could cite many other comments. Like any new departure, this form of East-West business cooperation has its adherents, its opponents, and its doubting Thomases. Only time will tell who is right. Even so, the fact that joint enterprise is being encouraged indicates the intention to abandon old attitudes to foreign economic activity. It indicates a desire to give scope for business initiative and enterprise.

Of course, there may be setbacks and snags along the way. Experience shows that some economic managers are still inclined to tackle new problems using old and inadequate methods. Sometimes they cannot or do not want to exercise the greater discretionary powers they have been given. This lends particular importance to the competence of the staff who will work at joint enterprises. The main thing is to prevent the new idea being discredited by incompetence.

As for safeguards against "commands from the top," the recently published ruling of the Council of Ministers on the procedure for creating and operating joint enterprises in Soviet territory contains such guarantees, within the framework of Soviet law, of course. The safeguards cover property rights, export and reinvestment of profits and tax rebates. The board of a joint enterprise will itself plan its commercial activity and the volume of sales in the Soviet and foreign markets, and determine its scientific and technological policy.

The same cannot be said of the safeguards referred to by comrade Martynov in his letter published in New Times issue No. 5. The Soviet Union cannot guarantee that foreign governments will not set obstacles in the way of joint ventures. Nor can it guarantee that, to quote comrade Martynov, "politics should not rudely intervene in economic affairs." It has to be borne in mind, however, that the intergovernmental agreements on economic, scientific and technical cooperation which the Soviet Union has signed with many West European countries provide for the extension of nontraditional areas of cooperation, including joint ventures.

Many capitalist companies had committed themselves to opening joint enterprises before the government decree was published. Dozens of other firms are negotiating agreements. Recently an agreement was signed to set up a joint enterprise with Finnair. It will be one of some 20 Soviet-Finnish joint ventures.

The outlook for Soviet-U.S. joint enterprises is less promising. Given the present U.S. restrictions on exports to the U.S.S.R.—in the absence of most-favoured-nation treatment—American companies will find it much more difficult to set up joint venture firms with us than their West European and Japanese competitors. American businessmen believe the success of the joint venture programme will ultimately depend on the readiness of the U.S. government to allow high technology exports to the U.S.S.R. Threats of disruption may arise if the Pentagon bans the supplies of components and materials, as has often been the case.

Washington's "anti-guarantees" are not confined to the economic sphere. They also apply to problems that have nothing to do with commerce. The Providence Journal published in America writes that "if American cooperation with the Soviet regime on operation of industrial plants has any point beyond bare profits then maybe U.S. firms could have some impact on the way the Soviet Union treats political dissenters."

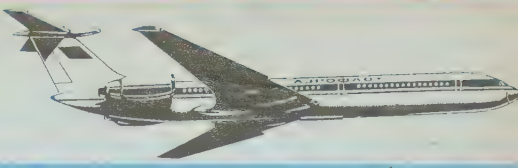
Of course, the Soviet Union will not make any political concessions to Western firms. Both sides should proceed from business considerations and seek to balance mutual interests and benefits.

What impact will joint ventures have on Soviet industry? It must be made clear that the current economic reform in this country will ensure higher productivity, quality and efficiency without the assistance of Western firms. Our main reserve here is the abandonment of the practice of levelling, of a "wage ceiling" for skilled workers. A letter to the editor raises fears that there may be a drift away of skilled labour to joint enterprises. I do not share these fears. Up to now we have been speaking of "pilot plants," and the number of vacancies over the next few years will not be commensurate with the number of jobs in our economy as a whole.

But these "pilot plants" will offer the Soviet customer new goods that are up to world standards. Competition will make similar Soviet enterprises try to keep up with their level of quality and productivity. These economic "commands from the bottom" are an important function of joint ventures.

GENRIKH BAZHENOV
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines



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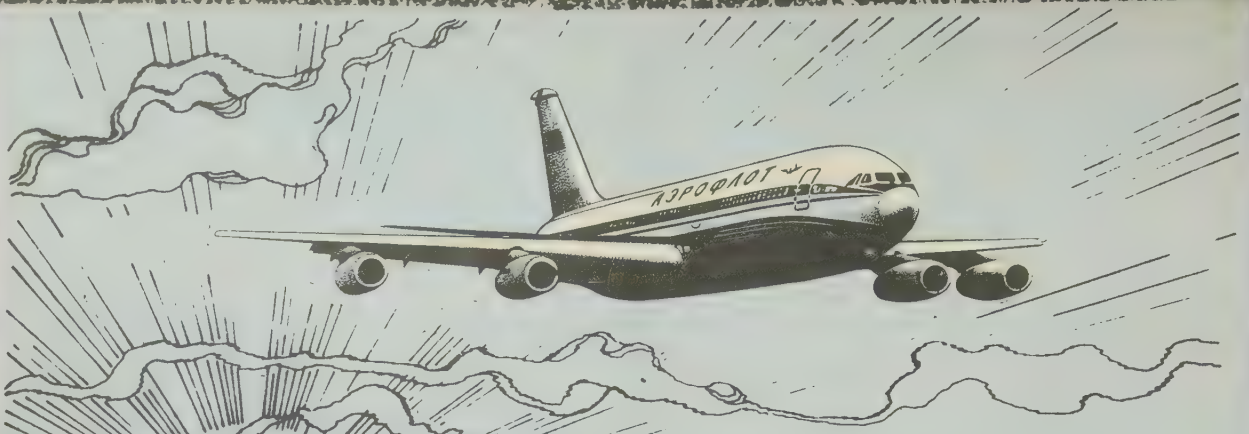

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READERS' FORUM

OPINIONS

Poll

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to read the magazine, dismissing it as "propaganda." Four came to the same conclusion after a cursory acquaintance with it. Four looked through it, their comments varying from "Yes, not bad," "At any rate, it's well-argued and documented" to "A wonderful panorama," "They really cover all the problems."

Four more people expressed doubts: "It may be true, but who is going to read it?", "Yes, they are right, but you must compare it with what the Americans say." Three more people reacted with surprise: "I expected it to be full of propaganda," "I didn't expect the magazine to be so informative," "I've got to admit that their information is sound." Two respondents complained about the absence of dates in your articles. Instead of giving specific dates your articles often say "recently," "of late," "during the conference," etc. Some were unhappy about the design, especially the articles on pages 3 and 4 and the surfeit of documents.

I for one feel that your articles are well-argued but need catchier headlines. You are too conservative and staid. For instance, your headline for a very interesting article on new armaments is "Conventional but Dangerous." In the West, the word "dangerous" is hardly ever used without an intensifier, such as "very," or "extremely." I share the complaint about the absence of exact dates. The magazine comes rather late and it is often hard to relate its commentary to the event, and psychologically, the absence of dates undermines one's confidence in it. Finally, I would like to make a suggestion. It would be a good idea if your magazine offered space in its columns more often to such experts as Professor Simonyan and other contributors who are knowledgeable in areas of interest to New Times readers.

J. COEN
Brussels, Belgium

READER'S CONTRIBUTION

"Coconut Palms" is how Hong Khanh, one of our readers, titled this photograph he sent us.

Grateful for Books

I am a social science teacher by profession. I live and work in Sri Lanka. I am interested in politics. I am curious to know the Soviet view of world events as I firmly believe that only socialism can bring people peace and happiness.

Unfortunately, good books are very expensive in my country, as in other developing countries. Even with a permanent source of income I cannot always afford to buy the literature I need. This is why I am grateful to your country for publishing and selling cheaply excellent books in various languages, the books that we need so much.

H.M.N.B. HERATH
Haliela, Sri Lanka

IN BRIEF

HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT

Twenty close friends of the Reagan family have bought a villa in a fashionable Los Angeles district for the President and his wife, the CNN network reports. They feel that the President's ranch in Santa Barbara is "too small and isolated." The Reagans are expected to move into the new 2.5 million dollars house in 1989.

The understanding is that Reagan will some day pay the money back.

SHERLOCK HOLMES CENTENARY

The date itself is a subject of controversy. Members of the dozens of Sherlock Holmes clubs and societies in Britain, the U.S., Switzerland and Japan claim that the centenary of the great detective was in 1954. They are convinced that Holmes is a real person, that he was born in 1854, that he now lives incognito in Sussex and is engaged in beekeeping.

One thing is certain: 1987 sees the 100th anniversary of the publication of the first Sherlock Holmes story by Conan Doyle, "A Study in Scarlet."

Holmes is the only "literary" detective mentioned in the Encyclopaedia Britannica which gives him more space than to many real people.

SPIRIT OF THE SEA

The 200 inhabitants of the island of Eriskay off the Scottish coast will now have to pay for their drinks. But it has not always been so: 45 years ago the islanders became famous when they seized 20,300 boxes of whisky from a wrecked ship. The story goes that they even used whisky as fuel for their stoves. The episode is described in a book "Whisky Galore" and in a film on the same subject. The first pub due to be opened on Eriskay will be named after the ship so conveniently wrecked off their coast 45 years ago.

What Is Eureka Finding?

The West European project: purposes, priorities, contradictions

In April 1985, when French President Mitterrand proposed the idea of West European countries pooling their scientific and technological potential to develop new technology, he gave it the quaint title Eureka, which means "I have found it" in Greek. In July of that year an intergovernment conference of seventeen West European countries officially proclaimed Eureka a joint project*.

The next two conferences (in Hanover in November 1985 and London in June 1986) agreed on the project's long-term goals and priorities and organizational structure, and approved some concrete programmes.

Let us take a closer look at this scientific and technological project. What role does Eureka have to play in the countries of the region? In other words, what is Eureka supposed to find?

Trying to Close the Gap

Eureka is an ambitious project involving joint work in many areas. Among the priority research and development areas mentioned in the project are informatics, communication systems, robotics, flexible automated production systems, laser technology, biotechnology, the utilization of marine resources, environmental protection and transport.

A series of concrete tasks are to be achieved in each area. In electronics, which forms the core of Eureka, Western Europe intends to build a super-computer with a memory of 64 million bits and a speed of 30 billion operations per second. In a related project, a fifth-generation computer with "artificial intelligence" components is to be developed.

On a Voluntary Basis

A spurt in electronics would give a boost to robotics. Autonomous self-propelled multi-purpose robots for hazardous industries are to be developed. Powerful lasers for metal cutting, assembly work and thermal treatment are to be built. Details of the Eureka project are still being worked out.

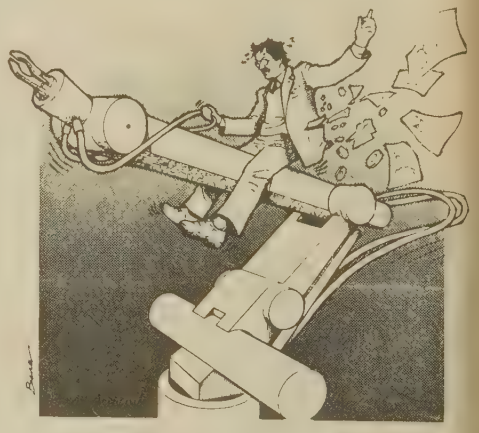
To make their joint research effective, the Eureka members intend to organize regional cooperation on new principles. Most states favour participation on a voluntary basis depending on their interest in the final results.

The supreme body is the intergovernment conference on Eureka held twice a year at the level of foreign ministers, ministers in charge of scientific research, and representatives of the Commission of the European Communities. The conference reviews the work done, lays down new guidelines, and proposes new programmes. It elects the country to chair the next conference and supervise the whole project in the inter-conference period. The chair country also directs the work of a group of high-ranking officials of member countries, a kind of executive committee for the Eureka project. The group has under it a small secretariat whose responsibilities include creating a data bank, disseminating information among the partner countries and consultation services to private firms and research organizations.

"The bandwagon is rolling, the momentum is increasing," said British Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Paul Channon, who chaired the London conference. The metaphor is something of an overstatement. The "bandwagon" is there and new elements are being added to it. But will it in fact be able to start rolling, what will it carry and where will it head? These questions have yet to be answered. But time is pressing as Western Europe is falling behind its main rivals, the U.S. and Japan.

Dispersed Resources

All in all, more than a million people are engaged in research and development in West European countries which spend about 20 per cent of all R&D money in the world. In civilian research



Only by robot can one outstrip competitors.

Cartoon from the Financial Times (Britain)

Western Europe spends about as much as the U.S. and twice as much as Japan. Yet West European firms still lag behind their American and Japanese rivals in several new areas.

The main reason for this lag is that the West European scientific effort and market are divided into more than 20

* Eureka was founded by the twelve member states of the European Economic Community: Belgium, Britain, Greece, Denmark, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal, France, and the F.R.G., as well as Austria, Norway, Finland, Switzerland and Sweden. It was later joined by Turkey and Iceland.

national components. Other causes to be mentioned are low efficiency of R&D (Japan, which spends half as much, takes out four times more patents than Western Europe), the gap between fundamental and applied research, and a slow introduction of its results in production. An integrated scientific and technological policy is designed to cope with all these problems: it would help concentrate personnel and resources for key R&D efforts, avoid duplication, and quickly implement high-priority programmes. Most importantly, it will give a filip to regional cooperation in those high technology areas where Western Europe lags behind the U.S. and Japan.

The threat of "technological colonization" of the Old World further increased with the U.S. "star wars" programme, which is expected to harness West European scientific and industrial potential to U.S. military-strategic plans. It was then that Eureka was born, a project that promised to resolve all the complex problems at one fell swoop and pave the way for a united "technological Europe."

In the nearly two years since the project was launched the groundwork for it has been laid. But it is too early yet to speak of success.

Growing Pains

Eureka is now in a transitional period characterized by instability, internal struggles, revision of priorities and conflict between a desire for independence and lack of adequate resources. In short, there are problems galore.

The most acute problem is to keep the project going. Up to now the governments have been its chief motive force. Joint documents, however, assign the key role to private firms. How to stimulate them to extend their regional, scientific and technological cooperation? Propaganda appeals to "European patriotism" are no answer. Private business thinks in terms of profits and it must know who is going to pay.

Meanwhile, the ministers of the Eureka countries have agreed that the programmes will be privately financed, with state budgets pitching in "in case of need." They explained that Eureka should be oriented to the production of competitive goods which the firms themselves are interested in producing. Hence private business must foot most of the bill.

There is also the problem of marketing. Industrialists welcome the idea of adjusting West European norms and standards, but they doubt whether the 19 Eureka countries will be able to carry out these plans quickly. It took years to accomplish this even within the narrower framework of the EEC. The ministers have decided that the goods produced under the approved programme will bear the Eureka trademark. But they have made the reservation that the trademark is just a "moral incentive" that does not guarantee preferential marketing terms.

TOTAL R&D SPENDING

(as per cent of GDP)

	1981	1985
F.R.G.	2.48	2.58*
Britain	2.42	2.27*
France	2.01	2.27
Italy	1.01	1.19**
Netherlands	1.88	2.00**
Sweden	2.22	2.47*
Austria	1.17	1.27
U.S.	2.51	2.80
Japan	2.37	2.61*

* 1983

** 1984

Participants in the project are wondering if Eureka has not been designed to suit the interests of the leading European countries and major firms, and whether the creation of regional scientific industrial unions would not further monopolize the West European market to the detriment of "junior partners."

This is by no means a complete list of the moot questions that continue to multiply as the project is rounded out and approaches the practical stage. But these difficulties are unlikely to stop Eureka. The West European leaders have staked on it heavily already. It will continue in one form or another. The question is, which one?

VALERY SLAVINSKY

...Stockholm, Next Stop Madrid

In late 1986 the Eureka "bandwagon," travelling through the capitals of Europe, stopped in Stockholm. The fourth intergovernment conference on the Eureka programme was held in the very building where the first stage of the Stockholm conference had just ended.

Why was Stockholm chosen as the venue? Sweden boasts a good record in high technology. Three years ago it gained the lead in the robotization of production, leaving behind even that recognized trend-setter in robotics, Japan. Sweden has 30 robots per 10,000 work places, Japan a third of that figure, and the U.S. just over a seventh. And the Swedes have other technological breakthroughs to their credit. So they claim an important role in Eureka and are prepared to make their contribution to the scientific and technological "revival" of Europe by taking part in 20 projects.

Another reason why Stockholm has been chosen as the Eureka capital for the next six months is that Sweden's industry is export-oriented. One in every three jobs in Sweden depends on exports. Seventy per cent of its exports go to the Common Market and other West European countries. That is why, says Carl-Johan Aberg, Secretary of State at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, we must be ready to take concrete action to join in the important work to eliminate trade, technological and other barriers on the continent. This was reaffirmed by the ministers of the 19 countries participating in the Eureka programme at their meeting in Stockholm. In the final communiqué they said they were committed to the creation of a large, homogeneous and open European economic zone, stressing the paramount importance of such a zone for the success of Eureka. So the rallying cry is "United Europe! Up Eureka!"

In Stockholm, 37 new projects worth 730 million European currency units

A European SDI?

What shape will Eureka take? The question is far from irrelevant in the light of statements such as the following: "Europe deplorably missed a great opportunity when we omitted the military dimension from Eureka."

This opinion expressed by Etienne Davignon, former vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities, and currently vice-president of the Belgian company Société Générale, is shared by many of the industrialists, bankers and military experts who attended a "professional" conference in Paris last November. The subject of the conference was reflected in its title: "Allied Defence Industry Cooperation: SDI and Beyond."

Transatlantic "Parities"

Speakers at the conference stressed that they were not satisfied with the present level of military cooperation in Western Europe. New "heights" were to be scaled to achieve close cooperation at every stage—from the drawing-board to the production of military hardware. Particular attention was paid to coordinating research. "We need to set up an advanced research agency for defence projects in Europe," said Jean-Louis Gergorin, vice-president for corporate strategy at the French concern Matra. "A common European programme on key military technologies," he noted, "would be a major step towards closer military cooperation in Europe." Another representative of the French military industry, François Heisbourg, vice-president of Thomson, proposed several projects. The first among them is to develop a European missile to replace the American Hawk missiles which form the basis of the European NATO countries' air defence. Such defence, he stressed, must be built by European industry with minimal U.S. participation.

The U.S. participants in the conference did not find this independent spirit congenial. Dennis Kloske, special adviser on armaments in the Department of Defence, urged European industrialists to concentrate on military cooperation within the NATO alliance. Support for military spending, he said, would fail if public opinion got the impression that the United States and Europe were rivals, not partners.

Ideas advanced at the Paris conference are supported not only by the business community, but by many politicians. The French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, addressing the December session of the Western European Union, lamented the fact that Eureka was concentrated on civilian research. Lord Carrington, the NATO Secretary-General, suggested "creating European research and development centres in key sectors." His suggestion was backed by Italian Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini. Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from the F.R.G., Mollemann, also spoke in favour of greater military integration.

The military integration of Europe is more than mere ideas and plans. A great deal has already been done both at transatlantic level, where the U.S. is leading the way, and in Europe, where France and the F.R.G. are calling the tune. By cooperating with the Pentagon, European industrialists hope not only to line their pockets, but to gain access to up-to-date military technology. Their chances on the latter score are limited, however, as Washington has never displayed any eagerness to share its strategic secrets with its allies. Despite numerous hints, it has, for example, refused to let its NATO partners in on the technology of Stealth planes. There is little hope that the Pentagon will be generous in the future.

In making deals with Americans the captains of West European industry are having to settle for a back seat. SDI is a vivid example. By agreeing to cooperate with the U.S. on this "defence" initiative, Western firms "have relegated themselves to the role of subcontract-

were added to the trans-European programme, bringing the total number of projects to 109 (worth 3,500 million ecu), with another 44 projects under discussion. The meeting announced that a united data bank is being set up and that Eureka's secretariat will be based in Brussels. Thus, leaving Stockholm for its next destination, Madrid, the Eureka "bandwagon" has completed another stage—the stage of Eureka shaping into an organization. That phase has been accomplished in just 18 months, faster than any other West European joint undertaking.

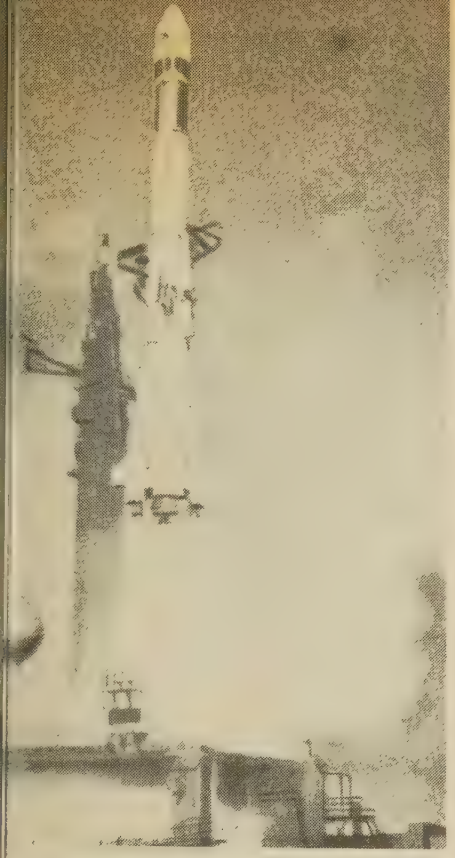
Even so, many problems remain. It is still unclear who is to fund the projects. Only private enterprises? But Eureka involves industrial giants and a host of small and medium-sized firms. While the former can sometimes pay their way, the latter cannot afford it. What the governments give is clearly not enough. Unless the captains of industry believe in the programme nothing will come of it, thinks Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. The Stockholm meeting launched another call to private business not to spare money for Eureka. The F.R.G.'s representatives suggested something like a "round table" of West European bankers to earmark "risk" capital for the programme.

Another open question is the dual—civilian and military—nature of the projects. It is a politically sensitive issue because the projects involve four neutral countries—Austria, Finland, Switzerland and Sweden. Ingvar Carlsson admitted that the problem exists and said that Sweden would immediately withdraw from any project if it became aware that it was gaining a military dimension.

A "technological Europe" got off the ground in Stockholm, or so the sponsors of the programme would have us believe oblivious to the fact that the 19 participants in Eureka are not the whole of Europe. Another open question is whether the removal of barriers in Western Europe would not be accompanied by the erection of new ones in East-West cooperation. The question is a very real one, as Sweden is only too well aware of the American diktat when it comes to the export of modern technology. On specious pretexts, Washington forced Stockholm to impose major restrictions on supplies of high technology to East European countries. However, relations with Eastern Europe were not even discussed in Stockholm.

Our own correspondent

Stockholm



The Ariane missile, the white hope of the European Space Agency, takes off. Photo from U.S. News and World Report

ors," wrote the Belgian Le Soir. They are not happy about the prospect. In a NATO Review article on military-industrial cooperation in Europe Eduardo Serra Rexach, State Secretary at the Spanish Ministry of Defence, formulated the goal put forward by the architects of Europe's military integration thus: a united Europe must become an "equal of our transatlantic allies."

Hermès, Saenger et al.

To promote military cooperation an Independent European Programme Group was set up in 1976. The group, which now includes 13 West European NATO countries, concentrates on coordinating national aerospace programmes and working out standards and on cooperation in research and production.

Space programmes also promise huge profits to West European industrialists. In late October the European Space Agency approved a European space shuttle programme. Designed by the French firms Aérospatiale and Dassault, the mini-shuttle Hermès will be put into orbit by the Ariane-5 missile, which has for several years been used to launch satellites. Hermès, wrote the French L'Express, will be used for research as well as military purposes.

Even so, competition between West European concerns for space contracts is only beginning. First the British announced plans to build their national "space plane." In November the F.R.G. followed suit. In an interview for Sonntags Aktuell, Minister of Research and Technology Heinz Riesenhuber announced that the F.R.G. intended to devise its own space programme in addition to participating in the West European one. In 1996 it plans to launch its own spaceship, Saenger.

A far more lucrative project is West European anti-missile defence. Estimated at $160 billion, it is drawing many military industrialists in Europe like a magnet. Washington, which first suggested the idea of backing up the American "space umbrella" with a West European anti-ballistic missile system, is adding fuel to the fire. A recent instance was the speech by James Abrahamson, director of the SDI programme, on a television bridge programme that linked Washington with some NATO capitals. He promised to share the new technology with the U.S. partners if they started building their own ABM system.

In December the U.S. made another handout to the allies. On his arrival in Brussels for the winter meetings with NATO colleagues, U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger immediately called a press conference to announce that the Pentagon has earmarked $14 million for the joint study of the idea of building a West European ABM system. Washington will place orders with 51 firms, of which 29 are in Western Europe. Stopping over in London, Caspar Weinberger handed the British another five contracts in connection with SDI research. Three of them are linked to the European SDI. The total value of the "British package" is $8.7 million, a puny sum compared with the staggering cost of SDI and its European appendage. But these are just the seeds. If the West Europeans begin to grow them they will have to make far greater outlays.

Along with the Americans, the Defence Ministry and several military-industrial concerns in the F.R.G. are actively advocating the idea of an anti-missile belt in Western Europe. The powerful pressure is beginning to yield fruit. The idea of Euro-SDI has made some headway among European industrialists, as witnessed by the Paris conference. This means that Eureka, Europe's prestigious project, may acquire a military slant.

Money, said Alexandre Dumas, is a good servant and a bad master. It exacts great sacrifices. In trying to get their own SDI and seeking to boost their profits, the military industrialists and officials are acting against the interests of Europe and the world. Rewording the quotation from Davignon cited above, it can be said that Europe would deplorably miss a great opportunity for peaceful progress if it added a military dimension to its scientific research and industrial development. It would also miss the opportunity to advance on the scientific and technological front that can be opened up by European cooperation in civilian areas.

VYACHESLAV BOIKOV

Brussels

How Eureka fares in the future, what comes of its projects and whether it is to be civilian or military only time will tell.

One thing can be said with certainty. Today, politics, economics and technology are global matters. Attempts to dig a technological trench between the two parts of Europe with the help of Eureka (if there is such an intention) would run counter to the spirit of the time and the objective need for international economic, scientific and technological cooperation. On the agenda are large-scale European and global projects. They call for the pooling of efforts by many countries without political discrimination and, of course, without military use of new technology.

Judge with a Stiletto

VLADIMIR BARANOVSKY and SERGEI KISIN

Vice-President George Bush of the United States told the international conference on terrorism in Washington on January 20, 1987, that terrorists and their accomplices often call themselves merely "soldiers" or "guerrillas" or "freedom fighters" struggling for national liberation, but that he and the American people did not regard them as such.

"Unfortunately," U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger said at the same conference the following day, "much sophistry and mythology passes for wisdom in discussions of terrorism. One particularly offensive shibboleth holds that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.'" Weinberger characterized this as an example of "moral equivalence" which is misleading and is aimed at disarming the West in the fight against those who seek to destroy it.

"Until recently," the Defence Secretary went on, "we lacked the precision ruling for more precise military action in a terrorism situation. We have made great progress in developing these anti-terrorism and counter-terrorist capabilities. But we still need greater flexibility. We need more options in addition to the broad sword, we need the stiletto."

No sooner had Weinberger finished his "sword and stiletto" speech than a new group of American citizens was kidnapped in Beirut. Incidentally, French, British and Soviet citizens had also fallen victim to previous acts of terrorism.

No Frontiers

Terrorism—i.e., violent action against innocent people—is nothing new. Today, however, it has become a serious international political problem. Politicians, diplomats and other high-ranking officials of foreign states are increasingly made targets of terrorist attacks.

Inquiries into the murder of such prominent political figures as Indira Gandhi and Olof Palme revealed traces of international conspiracies to eliminate them.

"The analysis of information supplied by U.S. intelligence sources," Jim Anderson wrote in the Washington Post, "showed that the total number of terrorist incidents globally in 1986 will be about 800, roughly the same as in 1985.

"In the first nine months of 1986 terrorism accounted for 447 deaths, according to the analysis. For the same period in 1985 the figure was 620."

Terrorism has long transcended national frontiers and its underground organizers in various countries work in close cooperation. This sinister phenomenon is fraught with extremely grave consequences to international security.

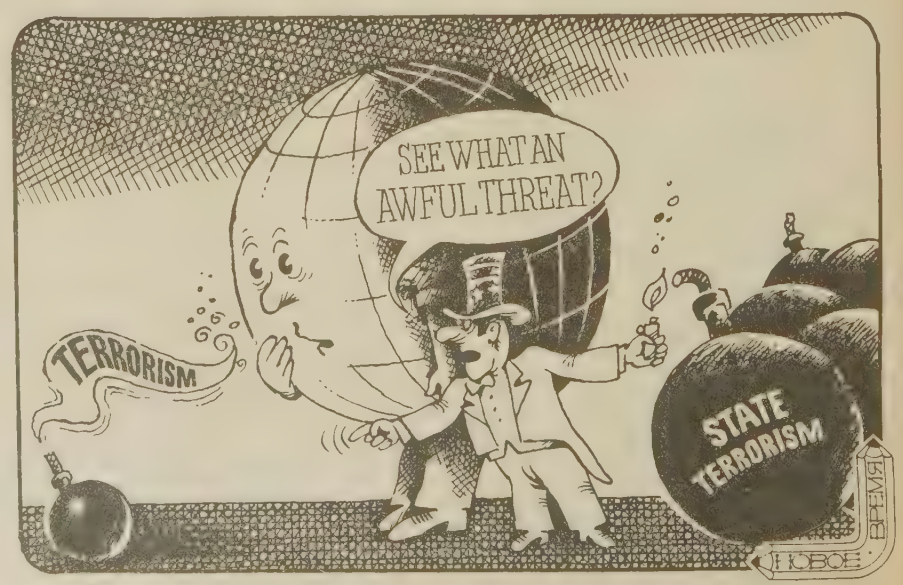
Indeed, any act of terrorism known for certain—or believed with good reason—to have been organized or supported from abroad can complicate international relations. All the more so if a government agency of a foreign country turns out to be a party to an act of terrorism.

On the other hand, charges of such involvement can be totally unfounded, if not inspired or provoked. It is enough to recall the persistent attempts to trace the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II to Bulgaria. Although obviously biassed, the trial of Sergei Antonov eventually ended in the terrorist charges brought against Bulgarian citizens being dropped.

In the overwhelming majority of cases such false charges are not given an unprejudiced investigation (take the charges advanced against Syria and Libya, for example). As for more or less universal criteria that would make it possible to distinguish the truth from fabrication, and delusion from malicious intent, the international community has worked out none as yet.

Under the circumstances, passions readily run high, given how the public at large feels about terrorism—international terrorism included. In many countries, anti-terrorist measures are actively discussed at government and parliamentary levels. Politicians dwell on these measures at length in their speeches. Anti-terrorist action is the subject of bilateral and multilateral interstate negotiations (summit talks even), and discussions in the United Nations and other international organi-

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov



zations. The mass media give much prominence to the issue of terrorism.

Directive 138

The result is a widespread conviction that terrorism has declared war on "civilized society," which must be prepared to take extraordinary measures to protect itself. This attitude, often that of the man in the street in the United States and Western Europe, in fact allows the authorities a free hand in taking virtually any action on the pretext of safeguarding "public security."

The United States unquestionably takes the lead in this respect. Since the early eighties the White House has been pressing Congress hard for a series of laws giving the administration extensive powers to combat terrorism. On April 3, 1984, the President signed Directive 138 of the National Security Council, which made it incumbent on 26 federal agencies to come up with ideas and suggestions as to ways of combating terrorism. Special recommendations were drawn up and endorsed, including those pertaining to the behaviour of U.S. diplomats and servicemen abroad.

The so-called Delta paramilitary group, several hundred strong, has been formed to carry out anti-terrorist operations. The group is manned by policemen trained in anti-terrorist action, intelligence officers, communications experts, snipers and other military specialists. Stationed in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, the group is on 24-hour alert to fly wherever another terrorist action is committed. Delta's field teams are to be deployed in the areas where terrorists are especially active. Reportedly, such "forward deployment" has already been put into effect in Stuttgart (F.R.G.).

All this appears to be, at first glance, the purely technical side of combating terrorism. Closer inspection will show that these activities pursue long-term political objectives as well and put international security in jeopardy. The Western (chiefly American) public's sensitivity to the issue of terrorism is vigorously exploited by the right in the U.S. leadership.

From the outset, the Reagan administration has voiced its commitment to "fighting international terrorism," making it as pivotal to its political propaganda in the world arena as "human rights" to the Carter administration's. The charges it made against the Soviet Union were clearly intended to present it as "the mastermind behind international terrorism."

Later, the U.S. heaped accusations of terrorism on Libya, Syria, Iran, North Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua and South Yemen. Any progressive movements engaged in armed combat are invariably labelled "terrorist." U.S. criteria of terrorism are purely arbitrary, as can be seen from the fact that those using force of arms against the lawful governments of Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and Kampuchea are styled "freedom fighters." The U.S. leadership reserves the right to decide which governments, parties and groups are "terrorist."

Washington also considers itself free to "counter" international terrorism by whatever measures it thinks fit against any individuals, organizations or even states whom the U.S. chooses to charge with complicity in terrorism. In other words, the banner of combating international terrorism is used as a cloak for all-out state terrorism.

A most influential faction in the American leadership maintains that terrorism should be countered by sheer force of arms. Curiously, certain high-ranking officials at the U.S. Department of Defence were for some time wary of accepting this idea, while Secretary of State George Shultz has been vigorously advocating it since 1983. Observers point out that Vice Admiral John Poindexter, the President's former national security adviser (now retired over "Irangate"), has tipped the scales in the White House by declaring for military action against the "organizers of terrorism."

Finding pretexts for flexing military muscles is far from being a problem. For instance, the U.S. announced at one time that it had irrefutable evidence of Libya being involved in acts of terrorism. White House spokesman Larry Speakes described one of the "plots" in lurid detail: according to his scenario, Libyan agents in Paris were to have machine-gunned and grenaded people queueing for U.S. entry visas in front of the American consulate.

Today such "exposés" are no longer taken seriously. Four months later the U.S. further stepped up its pressure on Libya, and the White House launched, at the suggestion of John Poindexter and the National Security Council, a campaign of misinformation against the Libyan leadership by spreading false stories of its alleged terrorist intentions through CIA channels, and "leaking" them to the press.

The End Justifies the Means?

In fighting terrorism, Washington is prepared to resort to actions that run counter to international law and, more often than not, affect innocent bystanders. This only provides moral and political justification for terrorism. After all, terrorists also profess the philosophy of permissiveness and refer to their victims as the price to be paid in "fighting for the good cause."

It is precisely by their methods that terrorists defy legality and the generally accepted norms of relationships between individuals and states, and using similar methods against terrorism means, in fact, subscribing to them. On the other hand, there arises the danger of the public seeing things in a wrong perspective; why, people may ask, should we be intolerant of what individual fanatics or small organizations are doing if governments find it permissible to do the same?

Those who hope to put an end to international terrorism by means of the stiletto (i.e., a few accurate hits from the air) are labouring under a delusion.

The kind of terrorism that has an international dimension to it is practised by many organizations. They work deep underground, often have a network of strongpoints in a number of countries, and draw their funds from various sources. Often they recruit supporters from the fairly numerous groups in the population who are politically, economically, or socially dissatisfied. Under the circumstances, using bombers against terrorism is tantamount to using tanks against drug trafficking or tax evasion.

Such methods of fighting terrorism may prove counterproductive: the

escalation of violence by the United States can only stir up anti-American sentiment, cause a new outburst of terrorism, and stimulate it to spread further.

There is the danger of terrorism expanding into new parts of the world and new "spheres," such as nuclear. There are no guarantees today against terrorists stealing nuclear ammunition, building nuclear devices of their own, or contaminating population centres with radioactive substances.

Cooperation Needed

Terrorism is an international phenomenon, and fighting it is no game of cowboys and Indians. It calls for serious and purposeful effort by the whole international community, for wide-scale and all-round international cooperation. There already exist international conventions and other multilateral agreements providing for international cooperation in preventing acts of terrorism. Such provisions are found in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference (1975) and the document adopted by the Madrid meeting (1983). A resolution on measures to prevent international terrorism was approved by the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly. More importantly, resolutions on this issue are being adopted at Security Council level.

In short, international cooperation in this field is possible, and the need for it is obvious. The important task now is to get down to devising effective methods of fighting international terrorism. There is a need for effective measures on the home front, for regional and multilateral agreements on the extradition of terrorists, for all states to accede to the agreements already in force on combating individual types of international terrorism, and for a prompt exchange of relevant information.

The U.S.S.R. is prepared for such cooperation. The issue brooks no delay. Action must be taken to prevent criminal acts of terrorism which take human lives, breed violence, aggravate the international situation, damage interstate and international relations and undermine international security.

■

ABC Predicts a Crisis

WALTER ROGERS, Moscow correspondent of the American Broadcasting Company, says in a recent report that the Russian winter is a severe trial and the record frosts have raised the possibility of an energy crisis in the country. Freezing temperatures of minus 60-70 degrees Fahrenheit in Siberia, he continues, have disrupted the extraction and transportation of gas and oil, resulting in a fall in deliveries of fuel for the heating of homes even in Moscow. The disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant last April started the crisis in power generation. The Soviet authorities were forced to modify all reactors of the Chernobyl type in order to respond to Western criticism of the safety of such plants. But, Rogers reports further, even non-nuclear plants are creating a potential problem because they were to have been shut down last summer for maintenance; instead, they had to operate at full capacity to compensate for the loss of energy due to the Chernobyl accident, and this raises the likelihood of breakdowns at these plants during the current cold spell. Power generation, Rogers goes on, is a prime component of the Soviet economy and problems in this field could also result in cuts in the supply of electricity from the U.S.S.R. to East European countries; this in turn could aggravate the already tense situation there. Still worse, he concludes, all this makes for a decline in industrial output in the Soviet Union.

ARTYOM TROITSKY,
head of the energy department of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee:

Winter has indeed confronted the power industry with a number of difficult problems, if only because electricity cannot be stored in advance to meet an emergency should equipment or personnel suddenly fail. At any given moment exactly as much electricity should be generated as is demanded, and demand depends on many factors. For example, we take an active part in the international division of labour in the fuel and energy field and supply fuel and energy to other countries. On the other hand, the needs of our partners, the dynamics of demand, fluctuate. Yet I can state that the fuel and energy potential of the U.S.S.R. is not only a reliable foundation for the country's economy but also helps to satisfy the interests of our foreign partners.

Judge for yourselves. In 1986 the extraction of gas in the Soviet Union reached 686 billion cubic metres, the mining of coal 751 million tons and the extraction of oil 615 million tons. No other country produces more.

These are the achievements. But there are also problems. The cost of extracting and transporting fuel is growing and requires of us an increased utilization of resources. In these conditions oil production in the U.S.S.R. has in effect stabilized while, because of the uneven distribution of fuel resources and industrial enterprises in the country, some big regions no longer have adequate organic fuel supply and are, so to say, on reduced rations because of the longer distances and greater complexity of transportation. This has necessitated a new strategy for the development of the Soviet power industry. It provides, in particular, for

the building of nuclear power stations in a number of regions. This applies primarily to the European part of the country, where the growing demand for electricity will be met in the main by nuclear power plants. We have been compelled to alter the fuel balance and replace the organic fuels that are in short supply with atomic energy. This work is being done. The total capacity of nuclear power plants in the U.S.S.R. has already reached 30 million kilowatts and generation of electricity by them has exceeded 160 billion kilowatt-hours, or 15 per cent of all the electricity generated in the European part of the country.

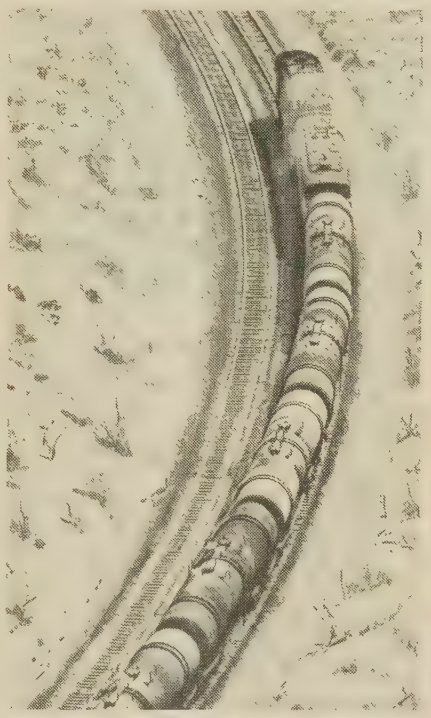
1986 put the country's power industry to a serious test. The damage inflicted by the unprecedented accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant is well known. An analysis of the causes of this disaster, which was made available to the international public, showed that additional measures are needed to increase the safety of nuclear stations with reactors of this type. Such reactors now account for half of all generating capacities at Soviet nuclear power plants. The complexity of shutting down these reactors for even a short time without damage to the country's power supply is obvious. It should also be borne in mind that it was simultaneously necessary to raise safety standards at a number of nuclear power plants built in the early years of nuclear power development. For these reasons (and also because of the need to divert substantial resources to cope with the Chernobyl disaster), only 3 million of the planned 6.5 million kw capacities were put into service last year at the nuclear power stations under construction.

This, however, did not exhaust the problems faced by the Soviet power industry. The water level dropped considerably last year in Transcaucasia and especially in Central Asia, where hydropower stations account for about 40 per cent of all stations. Central Asia, for instance, has never yet experienced such a shortage of water. As a result more than four million kilowatts of capacities there were made idle.

It became clear that to meet the country's demand for electricity the thermal power stations would have to generate about 60 billion additional kilowatt-hours. This is equal to the annual total generation of electricity in Switzerland, Belgium or Austria.

It was in such difficult conditions that we had to prepare for the coming winter. Despite the hardships, we decided to withdraw more than 100 million kilowatts of capacities from operation for scheduled maintenance in time for the winter. And this was done. On the whole, the country's power system has operated in a stable manner and met the requirements of the economy.

Formidable trials awaited power industry workers during the winter. In December (it was moderately warm) maximum loads on the power system increased by 8 million kilowatts as compared with December of the previous year, and subsequently by 11 million kilowatts in January with the onset of a long spell of freezing temperatures. It should be remembered that the 8.5 million kw capacities built and commissioned in 1986 were being eased into service and, for this reason, operating at 50 per cent. Yet, I repeat, the country's power supply was sufficiently reliable. And, as is now known from official statistics, Soviet industry not only fulfilled but even exceeded the plan for 1986, the first year of the 12th five-year-plan period. Is there any need to argue that this would not have been possible without normal power supplies?



Railways to the aid of oil pipelines.

The question arises: where did the additional capacities come from? First of all we altered the planning mechanism, thus making it possible to provide work collectives with material incentives to increase the output of power stations. This yielded more than 10 million additional kilowatts at thermal power stations.

Then we tried to reduce consumer loads on power grids to the minimum. For this purpose the time of work shifts was staggered throughout the country and in some instances moved to Saturdays and Sundays. Peak loads at all enterprises were cut by 8-10 million kilowatts (without detriment to technological and production processes), and this enabled the economy to save more than seven billion kilowatt-hours of electricity.

The Chernobyl accident reduced our ability to deliver electricity to several CMEA countries. But their energy potential was kept at the usual level. Hungary, the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia generated 3.5 billion additional kilowatt-hours at their own power stations, using a corresponding amount of liquid fuel supplied to them from the U.S.S.R. in excess of existing plans. The U.S.S.R.'s commitments to export electricity to other countries where quantities were not affected by the Chernobyl disaster (Finland, Norway, Turkey, Greece) were not only fulfilled but even somewhat overfulfilled.

No matter how paradoxical it might seem, as a result of all these measures the country's power system operated on the whole in a more stable manner in 1986 than in any preceding year. The number of deviations from the standard frequency of the current—the key parameter characterizing the quality of the operation of a power station—was 63 per cent less last year than in 1985. In the near future power industry workers are to eliminate the strains that have originated in their industry through their own fault. Two generating units at the Chernobyl station are already in service and the improvement of other reactors of this type is nearing completion. The power industry plans to put into service 15 million kilowatts of new capacities in 1987, ninety per cent more than in 1986. Nuclear power plants will account for almost half the entire increment in power generation.

It is undeniable that the breakdown at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and the overcoming of its consequences could not but affect the pace of construction of atomic power stations. Some adjustments to the five-year plan for developing nuclear power generation in the U.S.S.R. may be needed. But the principled policy of the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries of making economically substantiated use of the peaceful atom in their fuel and energy balance remains in force, given, of course, that all the necessary safety measures are observed and a reasonable combination with the operation of thermal and hydropower stations is ensured.

■

Vicious Circle

The year 1986 was not an easy one for most developing countries. And not so much on account of internal factors as because of the worsening external conditions for development and increased exploitation by Western capital.

NIKOLAI MARKOV

The enormous foreign debt of the developing countries has made their national economies particularly sensitive even to minor changes in the economic environment. This is why the slump in business activity in the Western countries in 1986 immediately aggravated the monetary-financial problems confronting the Third World. Its effect on different groups of Asian, African and Latin American states varied. The deterioration of world economic conditions struck a particularly painful blow at the petroleum-exporting countries and least developed states specializing in the export of two or three raw materials. The economic situation of the so-called new industrial countries, such as India, Brazil, Argentina, South Korea and Singapore, also varied. The slump in the world market catalyzed the differentiation of the levels of development of Third World countries. The foreign debt problem was chiefly aggravated by the deteriorating conditions of trade and the increased outflow of funds to the centres of world capitalism.

Unequal Development

The rate of growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) in the developing countries dropped from 2.5 per cent in 1984 to approximately 2.2 per cent in 1985-86. This means that over the last two years it was lower than that of the natural increase in the population. In the case of 49 developing countries out of 83 (for which statistics are available) the gross per capita product in 1985 either showed no increase or even decreased. The number of countries affected by the economic slump has grown perceptibly. Only a group of big countries, namely, India, Brazil, Argentina, Pakistan and Egypt, were characterized by economic growth. The rate of increase in their gross domestic product ranged from five to ten per cent.

A preliminary estimate shows that the gross domestic product of the **petroleum-importing developing countries** increased by 3.3 per cent in 1986. The drop in oil prices which enabled them to save $12-15 billion in hard currency contributed to this growth. In 1985 oil prices dropped by 4 and in 1986 by nearly 46 per cent. A barrel (159 litres) of oil that cost around $28 in 1985 sold for $10-12 in August 1986. As a result of OPEC members having cut oil production by the end of the year the price rose to $18. It is worth noting, however, that many countries used the hard currency saved on oil purchases to pay back their debts rather than import means of production.

At the same time the precipitous fall of liquid fuel prices hurt the **petroleum-exporting countries.** In 1986 their gross domestic product dropped by an average of 1.5 per cent (in contrast to 1985, when it increased by 2.1 per cent). The returns from exports by OPEC members dropped to $81 billion in 1986 (as compared with $265 billion in 1980). As a result, they were compelled to slash public expenditure, imports, investments and the volume of construction work. The reduction in revenues from oil exports has caused even the Middle Eastern monarchies to finance their economic programmes with funds withdrawn from investment abroad. For instance, Saudi Arabia's foreign assets shrank from $150 billion in 1982 to $90 billion in the beginning of 1986.

South and Southeast Asia. Over the past two years weather conditions were favourable. This enabled the South Asian countries to bring in abundant harvests of the main crops, and made for the steady growth of their aggregate product. Preliminary data reveal that in these countries the gross domestic product increased by 4.5-5 per cent in 1986.

It is expected that in the fiscal year 1986-87 (which ends in March) India's economic growth will stand at roughly the same figure. The country has launched its seventh five-year development plan for 1986-90. Its purpose is to boost the economy, overhaul it technologically and improve the living standards of low-income sections of the population. To encourage competition and lower the rate of inflation, the government has relaxed import restrictions. However, the increase in imports has not been compensated for by an adequate growth of exports, which would increase the country's balance of trade deficit.

The drop in the prices of oil and other raw materials had an adverse effect on the economic indices for Malaysia and Indonesia in 1986. Business activity in Singapore, one of the world's biggest oil-refining centres, was low. In Thailand, economic development was relatively stable. Industries in Hongkong, South Korea and Taiwan perked up perceptibly. They rapidly expanded the manufacture and export of integrated circuits, personal computers, TV sets, videos and other high technology products.

Confronted with the threat of tougher protectionist policies in the centres of world capitalism, these new industrial countries and territories have been stepping up the export of capital to make their way to U.S., West European and Japanese markets through the "back door." For instance, the Hyundai Corp. of South Korea is building an automobile assembly plant in Canada, Samsung Electronics and Goldstar are putting up electronic product assembly works in the F.R.G. and Britain, and Posco has invested $400 million in the U.S. steel industry.

Africa. In 1986 the gross domestic product of the African countries increased by only 0.8-1.0 per cent (as compared with 1.4 per cent in 1985). This decline was due to the slump in business activity in the North African countries, and also to the fall in production in Nigeria, which accounts for 40 per cent of Tropical Africa's GDP.

However, the situation in farming in the African countries located south of the Sahara Desert improved somewhat. According to preliminary data, their gross domestic product increased by 2.6 per cent in 1986 (as compared with 2.4 per cent in 1985). At the same time, however, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Sudan, with a total population of 80 million, continued to suffer from an acute shortage of food. The deterioration of the situation in southern Africa due to armed provocations by South Africa has shattered the regional economic ties of the frontline states. As a result, they are losing close to $2 billion annually.

Latin America. Burdened with a heavier foreign debt than other developing countries, the Latin American countries have attempted to manoeuvre between the Scylla of inflation and the

Charybdis of an economic slump. A preliminary estimate shows that the GDP of the region increased by 3.2-3.4 per cent in 1986 (as compared with 2.8 per cent in 1985). It was Brazil and Argentina that made the biggest contribution to the region's increased aggregate output.

Brazil advanced into an economic boom, its GDP soaring by nearly 10 per cent. Though the economic conditions in the world had deteriorated, the government continued to encourage domestic production and export to repay the debt without affecting economic growth. Having enforced a price freeze on basic commodities, it managed to curb galloping prices and increase consumption and industrial production. However, fearing that the economy might become "overheated" and inflation soar at the end of the year, the government kept business activity under control.

A drop in the demand for and prices of Argentina's main export items—grain and meat—cut its hard currency returns by over 20 per cent. Despite this, the Argentinian government managed to stimulate the economy with the help of foreign loans, and curb inflation. After having shown a decrease of 4 per cent in 1984-85, Argentina's gross output rose by 5 per cent in 1986.

Owing to the fall in oil prices, Mexico's returns from exports decreased by nearly $9 billion in 1986. The country was unable to repay its debt, and the government was forced to take emergency measures to curtail imports, domestic consumption and investments. As a result, Mexico's GDP fell by 4 per cent. Last year the economic slump also hit hard at the economy of Venezuela, another big oil exporter. The economic situation continued to be grave in Chile. The government's programme against inflation helped revive business activity in Peru. A preliminary estimate reveals that its GDP rose by 4 per cent in 1986.

The Price Spread

Experts at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) have estimated that, as a result of the fall in prices of farm products and minerals, the developing countries lost close to $55 billion in 1981-85. By 1985 the prices of raw materials had dropped by 12 per cent to their lowest level over the past 50 years. Though the fall in the prices of raw materials slowed down in 1986 (they fell by only 1.5 per cent, whereas oil prices dropped to the 1973 level), the prices of manufactured goods these countries imported soared by 17 per cent.

This price disparity, detrimental to the economies of the developing countries, leads to growing protectionism in the centres of world capitalism. Over the last few years the Western countries have imposed tougher restrictions on imports from Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have introduced new import quotas and more rigorous quality and sanitary requirements, forced their trading partners "voluntarily" to limit their exports, and resorted to other forms of protectionism. As the UNCTAD figures for 1984 show, 34 per cent of the goods exported by developing countries were covered by all sorts of quantitative restrictions.

In recent years the industrially developed capitalist countries have raised new barriers against the import of many manufactured products, including steel, motor vehicles, ships, household electronic appliances, clothing and footwear. For instance, the U.S. Congress enacted a special law to tighten controls on imports and make the access of products from the developing countries to the U.S. market dependent on their concessions to transnational corporations. In 1986 the decision of the U.S. administration to raise customs duties on oil imported from Latin America and introduce additional restrictions on sugar imports gave rise to bitter protest in the region.

The West has also attempted to force neocolonialist trade terms on the Third World within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which opened the "Uruguayan round" of multilateral trade talks* last year. These play a special role in the long-term improvement of trading terms and the monetary-financial position of the developing countries. However, within the framework of GATT, the West wants above all to liberalize international trade in services, and not in goods, as the U.S. transnational corporations are particularly strong in the sphere of services. The annual turnover of trade in services has reached $500 billion, which amounts to about a quarter of the capitalist world's trade in commodities.

However, the U.S.'s attempt to use the GATT talks as another master-key to Third World markets has been abortive. India, Brazil, Nigeria and seven other developing countries have rejected the bid to gear trade in commodities to trade in services. If a services sector were open for the further expansion of transnational corporations, this might wipe out the new national industries manufacturing information processors and other business machines. For instance, in 1984 Brazil banned the import of mini-computers, which enabled the country quickly to start manufacturing them itself, and now the industry has a turnover of $1 billion a year. This move angered Washington. In 1986 it demanded that the Brazilian government lift the ban on the import of mini-computers. Should Brazil refuse to do so, Washington threatened to reduce the import quotas of Brazilian goods and raise the customs tariffs on them.

After fierce disputes at the GATT negotiations, the developing countries stood their ground, insisting that trade in services be discussed without being geared directly to trade in commodities. It was also agreed that in the course of multilateral talks the Western parties to GATT would not introduce any further restrictions on trade. However, just before the New Year the U.S. effectively violated this agreement. The White House has announced its intention to raise customs duties on some goods imported from Mexico, Brazil, Singapore and several other developing countries. This measure will cut their returns from exports by $2 billion.

Unequal trading terms with the West are not the only impediment to the development of the newly independent countries. In the 1980s it has been aggravated by the rapid growth of their foreign debt and the burden of the arms race. These questions will be the theme of our next article.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INDICES
(Increase in GDP in per cent as compared with the previous year)

	1980-83 (average)	1984	1985	1986*
All developing countries	0.5	2.5	2.0	2.4
Latin America	—1.1	2.9	2.8	3.2
North Africa	1.1	3.3	2.3	1.5
Other African countries (excluding Nigeria)	1.3	1.4	2.4	2.6
South Asia	4.7	4.2	5.0	5.0
East Asia	5.5	5.8	2.6	3.8

* Estimate

* See New Times No. 49/86, p. 26.

"Nowhere and Everywhere. At No Time and Always..."

Interviewing film-maker Tenghiz Abuladze, whose "Repentance" is now being screened

Z. Can one consider the dictator Varlam, played in your film by Avtandil Makharadze, to be an archetype of a totalitarian ruler?

Or, as Varlam bears the Georgian surname of Aravidze and the film itself is the story of three generations of a Georgian family, father, son and grandson, are the historical and national specifics, the real life prototypes more important?

A. Aravidze is an invented name that does not exist in Georgia. It derives from the Georgian "aravin" which means "nobody." Hence he is Varlam Nobody. All rulers who wielded absolute power, beginning with Nero, could claim that name. It is a collective portrait of the villains and dictators of all nations and times. The actor has shown us what is truly a "mask of evil."

Z. Is it not possible that this urge to depict the archetype is responsible for the temporal shifts, the mixture of historical indicators, the superimposition of one temporal layer on another—which reviewers of "Repentance" have observed and cinemagoers are discussing so animatedly? Take the most obvious examples, characters dressed in the latest fashions alongside of guards with halberds wearing coats of mail. Or motorcars alongside of horse-drawn carts. Or the courtroom scenes where the judges wear medieval robes but the prosecutor is fiddling with a Rubic cube.

A. That is all deliberate. But it is by no means new. Take European Renaissance and baroque painting, in which Biblical stories are transposed to Italy or Holland. Initially, in the courtroom where Ketevan Barateli stands trial, our progenitors, Adam and Eve, were present in their birthday suits. They were more than just symbols. In fact their presence was obtrusive. It was meant to emphasize the fact that the film's dramas and tragedies are eternal and have occurred ever since the Fall—and I fear will always do so! However, we had to cut them simply because the film was too long: for that reason much has been shortened.

Where is the film set? Nowhere and everywhere. At no time and always. Hence the deliberate "incompatibility" of details, and the representation of Varlam as a type, to the point where he becomes an expressive mask. At the same time, paradoxically enough, the more you generalize the more concrete the image becomes.

Z. I cannot imagine, however, that you did this because you wished to present it in the abstract, detached from real life, those appalling vicissitudes of history, the desire to stigmatize which prompted the cruel, austere yet enlightening truth of "Repentance." I refer to the undeniable truth garbed in the fantasy.

A. Evil that usurps power is a blind alley. Social evil is so destructive that it can destroy itself. That is one of the picture's themes. Varlam's time is, per se, so absurd that it could be cinematographically represented only by using the arsenal of the absurd, the grotesque, surrealism and fantasy, not the language of the realistic cinema.

Z. How would you define the genre of your picture?

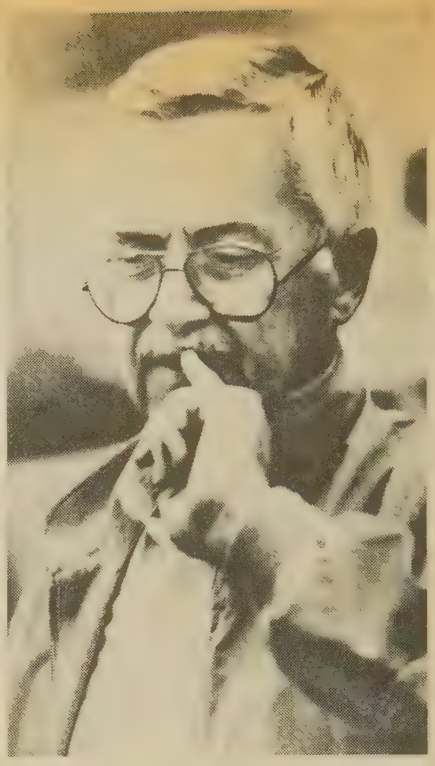
A. As "a tragic phantasmagoria," "a grotesque tragicomedy" or perhaps "a lyrical tragifarce."

Z. But you have plenty of clowning and satire, don't you? For instance, the very idea of digging up Varlam's dead body is an extremely odd and fantastical means of wreaking vengeance on the part of the heroine. Ketevan avenges her parents who perished at the hands of the villainous ruler in the terror, the other innocent victims, her own ruined life. In her eyes Varlam has no right to be consigned to the earth, as that would imply forgiveness. That is why she steals into the graveyard at night, spade in hand. You will agree that this is extremely fanciful, and unusual.

A. Still, the idea was suggested by a true story about a Mingrel villager, who dug up a newly buried neighbour and propped his body against the door of his family's house. How appalling his crime must have been for a fellow villager to have done this!

Z. Yet that is only the starting point for a prolonged flashback unfolding the whole story of Varlam's guilt, the crimes perpetrated during his dictatorship, the lawlessness and repression, the arrest of innocent people and the harassment of writers and artists. When did you first conceive the idea of making this picture?

A. I think it arose subconsciously about 20 years ago, when I was starting work on "A Prayer," the first part of my film trilogy, based on the verse and philosophical reflections of the classic Georgian poet Vazha Pshavela.



Tenghiz Abuladze.

That came out in 1968. Recently I saw it again after a long interval. Nowadays I would prefer to show the trilogy in this order: first "The Wishing Tree," which I made in 1977, followed by "Repentance" and ending with "A Prayer," so much is it of today.

The film is about the dangers—the perilous nature of enmity and suspicion, and the emergence and disastrous impact of evil, prejudice and inertia. The poet begs God to let him always thirst to do good and die without ever quenching this thirst. The words of Vazha Pshavela, that genius and seer, "The beautiful human essence can never die" are for me the epigraph to the picture.

The destructiveness of enmity. The tenacity of enmity. Who is the enemy? According to the story, the Moslem hillmen are perpetually at odds with their Christian neighbours. However, in Vazha Pshavela's eyes none are right and none are wrong. Their very enmity is tragic. The action takes place "at no time and always," it is at once legendary antiquity and the turn of the present century, when Vazha Pshavela was alive.

Z. The introductory sequences to "The Wishing Tree" take up the theme of "A Prayer," doesn't it? I mean the now classic cinematographic symbol of a dying white horse. On a field drenched, according to legend, in the blood of erstwhile slaughter, a handsome horse dies, and the field in vernal bloom is blotted out by the ominous pall of mist, symbolizing the power of evil, that is being passed from one generation to the next. As I see it, not only "A Prayer," but also "The

Wishing Tree" are both absolutely of today. Last September I was present at a meeting with Graham Greene, sponsored by the Moscow University department of journalism. He had just come back from Tbilisi, where he had seen "The Wishing Tree." "A great film," he said, holding his hand to his eyes as if to stress his admiration.

We are not accustomed to saying things of that order about our "own" writers and artists: at best we offer compliments. But I imagine that Graham Greene, that great modern writer—and we are accustomed to applying that epithet to him!—does not use words lightly. I think that what he meant was not only the picture's superb artistry, but, above all, its vigorous and fervent humanism, its profound compassion for the victims of violence. For is that not the case in the tragic fate of the girl Marita in "The Wishing Tree" who, though in love with a poor lad, is married off to a man she hates and put to the stake by the village's guardians of chastity.

A. I would not have the temerity to comment on what was said by Graham Greene, whom I profoundly admire Unfortunately I was not able to meet him. Of course, what he said is most flattering and pleasant. I am full of gratitude. As regards "The Wishing Tree," it is organically linked with "A Prayer," from which it stems as the second part of my trilogy.

This screen adaptation of the lyrical prose writings of the famous Georgian writer Georgi Leonidze deals again with the theme of devastating enmity, and violence against the individual. Enmity destroys. Was anyone against Marita? Nobody, it seemed! All had "good intentions," even the village elder who, arguing from "the position" of the clan, the nation, the masses, sought to serve the interests "of all."

"We're a small nation," he said, "and we need healthy posterity. So let's marry Marita off to a rich man and start good stock." However it all culminates in the heroine's tragic death. The theme of "The Wishing Tree" is a nostalgic yearning for lost harmony, for the restoration of that harmony with which human nature was originally endowed.

Z. Is not this theme carried over into the last part of your trilogy? When did you start "Repentance"? And how did you film it?

A. We started on the script in 1981 and completed it in 1982. The film was actually shot in a mere five months and was ready by December 1984.

The actual shooting was quick and characterized by concerted effort. Many ideas were conceived on location. I had splendid colleagues, a fine cast, such a highly professional cameraman as Mikhail Agranovich, a good friend and most sensitive artist, whom I invited from Moscow, ant set designer Georgi Mikeladze, whom all Tbilisi film directors and producers want to work with them. I should like to make special mention of the make-up artist G. Barnabishvili who created Varlam's mask and the make-up of actor Makharadze's second role—that of Avel. Suffice it to say that there is not one specialliy constructed setting. Everything was done on location.

Z. What about the railway station scene, which always makes a tremendous impression on audiences, the scene in which the wives, daughters and sisters of political exiles search for the names of their menfolk on the logs brought in from the taiga?

A. We shot this episode in Batumi in late autumn by the railway right in the town, not far from the sea. We recorded the actual noises, the rattle of train wheels, the clanging, the barking, the voices, and the footsteps. However, having seen this sequence, composer Gia Kancheli said he could offer some incidental music that might come in handy and gave me a reel of tape. Is that music? Musical noise? Groans?

Still from the film.
Actress Mziya Makhviladze.

That is what you hear in the picture. The noises and the text recorded earlier had to be toned down. It's all understandable as it is.

Z. By means of the weird strains produced by unfamiliar instruments, the music conveys an amazing mood, an unreal quality. Do you mean to say that such settings as, for instance, the house of the painter Sandro Barateli or the Church of the Holy Virgin, where a laboratory of high-frequency equipment is housed, are real?

A. Of course! The Barateli house is the memorial flat in Tbilisi of the marvellous Georgian painter Elena Akhvlediani. The church, which was built in the 6th century (the frescoes are of a later date) still stands in Batumi.

In this connection the following is important. In the church scenes, as you probably remember, the text of the interview Albert Einstein gave before his death, an interview that can be regarded as the great scientist's testament, is broadcast. However, no sooner does it end than a programme of pop music, the kind of music that interferes with mental processes, begins. Before Einstein's testament is read out, a testament in which he warns mankind against a global atomic catastrophe, we see a Boschean figure gliding past the huge structures and specimens of industrial design in the church. It is a woman wearing a green-and-sky-blue dress, with a tail attached to her sash, and carrying a fat book on her head on which a rat is perched. That symbolizes the scientist who consumes himself, implying that anyone who tries to consume others consumes himself. That is one more important theme for me, that of warning. The symbol of the woman-rat also has another meaning—according to Georgian legends, devils take over all abandoned churches.

All these images and symbols are more than simply grotesque or surrealist. They are part of the content. Otherwise I would have failed to convey the absurd reality of Varlam's time. For instance, how could I have shot the almost unreal scene of the interrogation of the painter Sandro in Varlam's "department," without the white grand piano, Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" and Themis, the Goddess of Justice in the shape of a pretty blindfolded girl holding a pair of scales? How was I to bring home to the cinemagoers of today that absurdity of "varlamism," when the old, courageous, honest Mikhail Korisheli besmirches his good name by confessing to having been an "agent of Pontos," assigned to "dig a tunnel from Bombay to London" and direct a veritable legion of "enemies of the people"? Absurd, fantastic reality requires an appropriate means of expression.

Z. "Repentance" is showing in Moscow with a phenomenal success that exceeds all expectations. Evidently the problems it raises, its social and moral message, its civic fervour are all extremely timely. Soviet cinematographers have welcomed the release of "Repentance" as a most encouraging indication of the life-giving changes and rejuvenation at work in our society and the arts, and more particularly in cinematography. But some filmgoers still claim that "we should not dig up the past," and want to "let bygones be bygones." What do you think about that?

A. I would quote Leo Tolstoy in this connection, from his article "Nikolai Palkin": "So why remember? If I had a serious illness or a dangerous one and was cured of it, I would always remember that with joy. I will not remember it only if I continue to be ill and get worse and I want to deceive myself."

Z. Now that "Repentance" has been shown in Georgian cinemas and on Georgian television, and is running in Moscow, it will very probably be shown elsewhere in the Soviet Union as well as abroad?.

A. Probably.

Z. We were all very happy when the first two films of the trilogy were awarded prizes—"A Prayer" at the San Remo international festival (Grand Prix) and "The Wishing Tree" which won the David di Donatello prize in Italy. There are rumours that it will be shown at the Cannes festival.

A. I hope so. At any rate, I am now preparing a copy for France with French subtitles. I very much hope that this film too will command the attention of the discriminating foreign audience.

Z. We wish you every success.

Interviewer NEYA ZORKAYA

Hearty greetings from a 17-year-old living in Odessa on the Black Sea coast. I take great interest in your magazine because it covers world developments—and one simply cannot remain aloof from world developments today. But my letter is a question rather than a comment on your publication. In his speech on Soviet television Mikhail Gorbachev said he had offered President Reagan a "radio exchange": the U.S.S.R. will stop jamming the Voice of America and the Americans will be given an opportunity to tune in to the English-language service of Radio Moscow. I would like to know if work has started on this proposal or if the Americans have turned it down.

IGOR STOLYAROV
Odessa, U.S.S.R.

Parity Needed on the Air As Well

ALEXANDER YEVSTAFYEV, deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Radio and Television, replies:

Speaking on television on October 22 last year, Mikhail Gorbachev, describing his exchange of views with President Reagan on radio broadcasting, said that in reply to Soviet proposals in that field, the President promised "to think it over." I will not venture to say whether he will live up to his promise, as the U.S. side has already gone back on many far more substantial accords, including those related to nuclear disarmament, achieved in Reykjavik. Moreover, the U.S. administration has more than its share of troubles: major setbacks in foreign policy, scandalous exposures of underhand arms and cash dealings, serious contradictions in relations with its allies....

In this atmosphere of lies and crises, Washington seems to be in no hurry to settle with us, on a basis of equality, questions of information as formulated by the Soviet side at the Reykjavik meeting. One reason is that, as Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his TV address, "...the United States is increasingly becoming a closed society; people are cleverly and effectively cut off from objective information. This is a dangerous process." Moreover, Washington still relies on the ability of its powerful misinformation machine, sprawling all over the world, to shape world public opinion to suit U.S. ends.

Even the weathered Voice of America is finding it more and more difficult to carry out this supertask. Audiences are no longer as gullible as once they were. Critically and independently minded listeners, supplied with objective information, can tell the truth from political fiction, social demagogy and ideological falsification. As for us, we say honestly that we are ready for and want comparisons between different ideas, including capitalist ones, and our own. We are ready for an honest debate.

That is why parity of opportunities and facilities is essential in information exchange today, especially as regards up-to-the-minute radio broadcasting. There is no such parity today. Recounting his talks with President Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "You have surrounded the Soviet Union with a network of transmitters and use the territories of other countries to broadcast round the clock whatever you wish in many languages spoken in the Soviet Union. But as we are not close neighbours, the U.S. itself keeps our broadcasts out by the medium-wave barrier: only MW radios are to be found in America. The President could not deny this either.

"Then I suggested: let us do it this way—we will stop jamming the Voice of America and you will give us an opportunity in your own territory or somewhere nearby to organize broadcasting for the United States so that it can reach the population of your country."

The proposal seems fair and gentlemanly. Listening to Radio Moscow on medium waves, to which they are accustomed, the Americans would have a rare opportunity regularly to hear the truth about our life, achievements and shortcomings, our joys and disappointments, our true foreign policy goals and our attitude to the United States and the Americans. A hole would be made in the shell of abysmal political ignorance in which the Americans are jealously kept so that they can believe that Soviet troops will overrun America one of these days.

We for our part would begin listening to the Voice of America with the honest desire to learn as much as possible about the United States and the Americans: what they take pride in and what they are ashamed of, how they work and how they live when unemployed, about their recreation, publications and technological achievements, what they think about the threat of war. It would be interesting, would it not? But will we hear about all that? Will we learn the truth about the great America over the airwaves?

I have serious doubts on this score judging from current Voice of America programmes, and here is why: almost half of its air time is taken up by programmes about the Soviet Union. They often tell us about what simply does not happen in our country. And even if they comment on something that does happen, they explain it high-handedly, in a superior way, what it means and why it should be different. Moreover,

we are lectured on ways of "improving our system" and copying the American way of life. We are offered cheap anti-Soviet fabrications. The overall idea is that the Voice of America broadcasts are our only source of true information about our own way of life.

The omniscient commentators and interpreters of our realities have been finding their job more and more difficult lately. Openness, frank and democratic debates on the problems associated with the development of socialist society in the U.S.S.R., honest criticism of shortcomings in social, economic, cultural and intellectual life and of those who are to blame for them, and a revolutionary change in public opinion are stripping the allegations we hear on the radio of any semblance of truth.

In short, our honesty is cutting the ground from under the feet of those in the U.S. and elsewhere whose job it is to tell untruths about the Soviet Union, and those who are generously paying for them as an effective weapon against socialism. And they consider that weapon as important as nuclear warheads, missiles, chemical agents and space weapons. The Los Angeles Times recently observed that "since 1980, the USIA budget has grown faster on a percentage basis than the defence budget."

The Soviet Union has ratified the international convention concerning the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace. Dozens of countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America have joined it, but not the U.S. Why? Because that document stipulates the obligation of the signatory countries to ban the broadcasting from their territories of incitement to action incompatible with the internal system or security of the other signatory states, as well as to make sure that broadcasts should not instigate war or action capable of leading to war.

We think that these are the only acceptable principles—but Washington objects. Nevertheless, we are continuing our efforts to remove artificial barriers to radio broadcasting. What will the result be and when? We will see, or rather, hear, in due course. ■

The Muses Must Not Fall Silent

ALEXANDER OXANIN

The movement for peace and disarmament continues to grow all over the world. Workers in the arts have a special role to play in it: they can do a great deal to promote understanding among nations because the concepts "the arts" and "peace," and "the arts" and "the right to live" are inseparable.

On whose side are you, masters of culture? Maxim Gorky asked intellectuals in other countries in the early 1930s. The great proletarian writer called on all men of letters, all workers in the arts to close ranks against war and reaction. The overwhelming majority of artistic intellectuals are unquestionably on the side of peace because peaceful coexistence alone can ensure the flourishing of culture. And the progressive arts for their part are contributing to the development of an atmosphere of trust and the formation of new political thinking.

These noble goals are the aims of the Soviet Union's contacts with other countries in the arts. Many international cultural events hosted by the Soviet Union are concerned with the themes of war and peace.

The Issyk Kul forum, a unique meeting of intellectuals of world renown from different countries, was a signal event in that context. Writers, scientists and public personalities debated issues of concern to mankind today, in particular peace and détente. In their final statement the participants in the forum said among other things: "We hope that the seeds we have sown at Issyk Kul will sprout rich shoots and that many people in the arts the world over will join us in our efforts to build the new world of which we dream."

All the countries of the socialist community are working vigorously to preserve civilization from nuclear catastrophe and to promote international cooperation. The Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee, meeting last October, discussed cultural exchanges, and the communiqué adopted by the foreign ministers stated that the socialist countries "call for broader exchanges of cultural values among nations to enable them better to know and understand one another and ease their access to the treasures of human civilization. They favour broad cooperation in the humanitarian field."

The sixth international meeting of writers under the slogan "Peace is the hope of the planet" was held recently in Sofia. Answering an address from the organizers of the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "People sometimes ask what literature and the arts can do in our thermonuclear age. I believe, a great deal. The main thing is to help create a moral atmosphere in which the arms race and the whipping-up of militarist hysteria will be considered a crime against the right to life itself."

A joint musical group of Soviet and American children produced a show called "Peace Child" and performed in Soviet and U.S. cities in the International Year of Peace. The performances demonstrated that the younger generation is far from indifferent to questions of war and peace. The main idea of the production itself and our joint efforts is to demonstrate that friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union is possible and necessary and that our countries must live in peace, the coordinator of the Peace Child Foundation, Sandy Croan, said. A spokeswoman for the ICM Artists, Susanne Arrons, characterized the recent U.S. tour by Igor Moiseyev's dance company as a great event for American music fans.

Progressive figures in the arts in the West are making their contribution to efforts to save civilization from nuclear catastrophe. The well-known British writer John Brunner, an anti-war activist, discussing the duty of men of letters, said that in the 20th century it was unthinkable to be a writer and avoid questions of war and peace, life and death. According to him, any act of creativity in literature or other fields should challenge those forces which, by virtue of their inhuman and ruthless nature, are bent on mass annihilation.

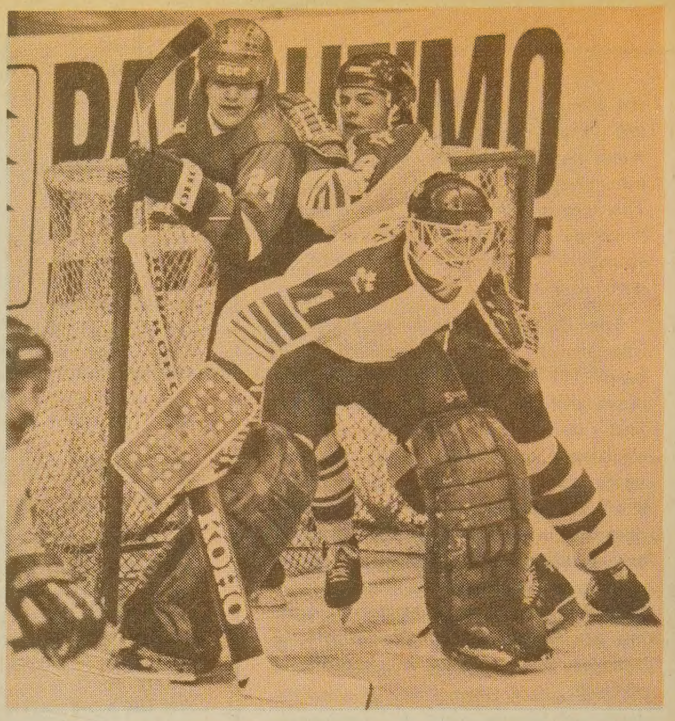
The French public organization the Appeal of 100, founded by distinguished French scientists, writers and actors, is working vigorously in the peace movement. When a national festival was held in 1986, an appeal to the peoples of the world was approved. "We are determined to do everything we can to save mankind from nuclear war," it says.

The International Year of Peace with its numerous anti-war actions is over. The mass movement for peace, however, continues to gain momentum and attract millions of new activists. Personalities in the arts are prominent in the movement.

As the saying goes, "In times of war the Muses are silent." The utmost should be done to prevent the Muses falling silent on our beautiful planet, a unique oasis in the Universe. The people of the world want it. This desire is reflected in the decision of the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly to proclaim the years 1988-97 a world decade for the development of culture. ■

Top-Notcher

JAN STARSI, Czechoslovakia's chief coach:
"Give me Makarov and Fetisov, and my team will beat any side!"
DAVE KING, chief coach to Canada's Olympic team:
"Of several options Makarov chooses the only right one."
WAYNE GRETZKY, the National Hockey League's best forward of the past few years:
"What player would I like to have as my partner? In the attack—Makarov, of course."



Sergei Makarov took up ice hockey in early childhood, playing in backyards. In Chelyabinsk, where he lived, the chief attraction for hockey-minded boys was always the local first-division club, Traktor. Sergei, moreover, had examples to emulate in his immediate family: his brother Nikolai was a back in a first-division team and later became a world champion and Merited Master of Sport, while another brother, Yuri, was for many years an ice hockey referee.

The teenager with a distinctive and unconventional technique was spotted by Traktor coaches and began to learn to play the game in earnest. But even at that time he had his own opinion of the game, which he was prepared to defend to the limit.

His main qualities are firmness, willpower and stamina. In 1983, he started to dislocate his shoulder increasingly often and the team physician had to take emergency measures time and again. Eventually, complicated surgery was performed and the specialists' verdict was that hockey was out of the question for four months. This meant the Soviet side would go to the world championship in the F.R.G. without him.

Coach Vyacheslav Tikhonov visited Sergei in hospital and said, as if in passing, that the team needed him badly and the going would be tough without him. Makarov went into training long before the time allowed by his doctors, playing in bandages. He alone knows how excruciatingly hard it was to work on the ice, overcoming pain, to get back into shape. He was chosen as the best forward at the world championship....

I remember the first game he played in Moscow. At one point, like Kharlamov, he put on a burst of speed, left behind two backs, outwitted the goalie and scored a marvellous goal. In one season he had become the leader of Traktor's attack.

In 1978 Makarov was invited to join the Central Army Sports Club. But he did not shine in his first season with the country's best side. He had to adapt to the very stringent demands made on players in the team and learn from outstanding players, such as Valery Kharlamov, Vladislav Tretyak, Boris Mikhailov, Vladimir Petrov, Vladimir Lutchenko and Gennady Tsygankov. But he also had to retain his distinctive style and develop his "patent individuality," as coach Anatoly Tarasov used to say. During that season, moreover, Sergei's partners kept changing, which did not help him give a consistent performance. Yet he caught up with the best and soon became the team's leader.

Sergei Makarov believed from his early years as a hockey player, and not without grounds, that he would excell. He always remembers his role and does his best to play it as it should be played. But his value lies primarily in the fact that he contributes his talents and skills to the team effort.

There are few first-class forwards in hockey today. They are always watched closely by fans and coaches. We admire those who continue in the best traditions of Vsevolod Bobrov, Boris Mayorov, Anatoly Firsov and Valery Kharlamov. Regrettably, you can count players of this calibre on the fingers of one hand, and Sergei is one of them. His high speed, sense of manoeuvre and superb puck-handling enable him to outplay two or three opponents at once.

Makarov has one more invaluable quality: he knows or, rather, senses to the last inch how much room for manoeuvre he has in every situation. If the area of the pitch were halved, for instance, all the players would feel crowded to the extreme—except the first quintet of the Central Army and national sides, and especially Makarov, Fetisov and Krutov. They know better than anyone how to make use of space and time in hockey.

The five best field players in the Central Army and national sides—Vyacheslav Fetisov, Alexei Kasatonov, Sergei Makarov, Igor Larionov and Vladimir Krutov—were first brought together in the Canada Cup in 1981. Since then, in challenging clashes with NHL professionals and at world championships, the Olympic Games and international tournaments, they have won the reputation of the best quintet in world hockey. Two years ago Sweden's coach Curt Lindström confessed: "I have no recipes for my players on how to contain the first quintet of the Soviet side."

Makarov has an impressive collection of medals and prizes: he is an Olympic champion, holder of six world titles, winner of nine European Champions' Cups and nine national titles. Hockey commentators have twice elected him Europe's player of the year, the second time being in 1986, and the directorate of the International Ice Hockey Federation named him best forward in the 1985 world championship. He has won 23 major tournaments with the Central Army and national sides.

He has already graduated from an institute. He always tries to spend his few hours of respite from the game with his family. His son Artyom, 6, adores his father, and small wonder—Sergei is an accomplished guitar player, draws well and writes poetry.

He wants to remain in hockey for a long time, but only if he can continue to give of his best.

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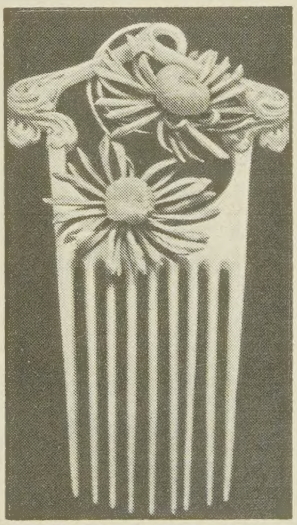
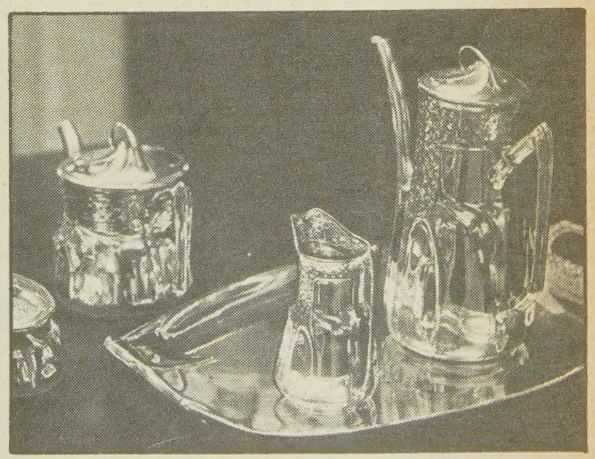
Hamburg Modern

What do bentwood chairs and the Yaroslavl Railway Station in Moscow have in common? Both are products of an art style known as the modern, which appeared at the turn of the present century. It did not last long but it exerted a profound influence on every sphere of art—from architecture to elegant bric-a-brac.

In January and February first Leningrad and then Moscow art lovers have been treated to an exhibition of objets d'art from the Hamburg Museum of Arts and Crafts. It is in return for the recent demonstration in the F.R.G. of a collection of Rennaissance silver and baroque objets d'art from the state museums of the Kremlin.

In the more than a century of its existence the Hamburg museum has collected works by outstanding masters of decorative and applied arts of all continents. About 100 exhibits were selected for display in the U.S.S.R.—glassware by Emile Gallé, inventor of the technique of incrustation on glass; exquisite objects by René Lalique, the early 20th-century master jeweller; porcelain by well-known European craftsmen, furniture, fabrics, embroidery, lattice-work and metal objects.





● Richard Luksch, Hamburg. 1919. Seated girl. ● France. Circa 1860. Fan. ● René Lalique, Paris. 1900. Decorative comb. ● Bohemia. 1863. Jubilee goblet. ● Cologne. Circa 1900. Coffee and tea set. ● View of the exhibition hall.

Photos by V. Panov

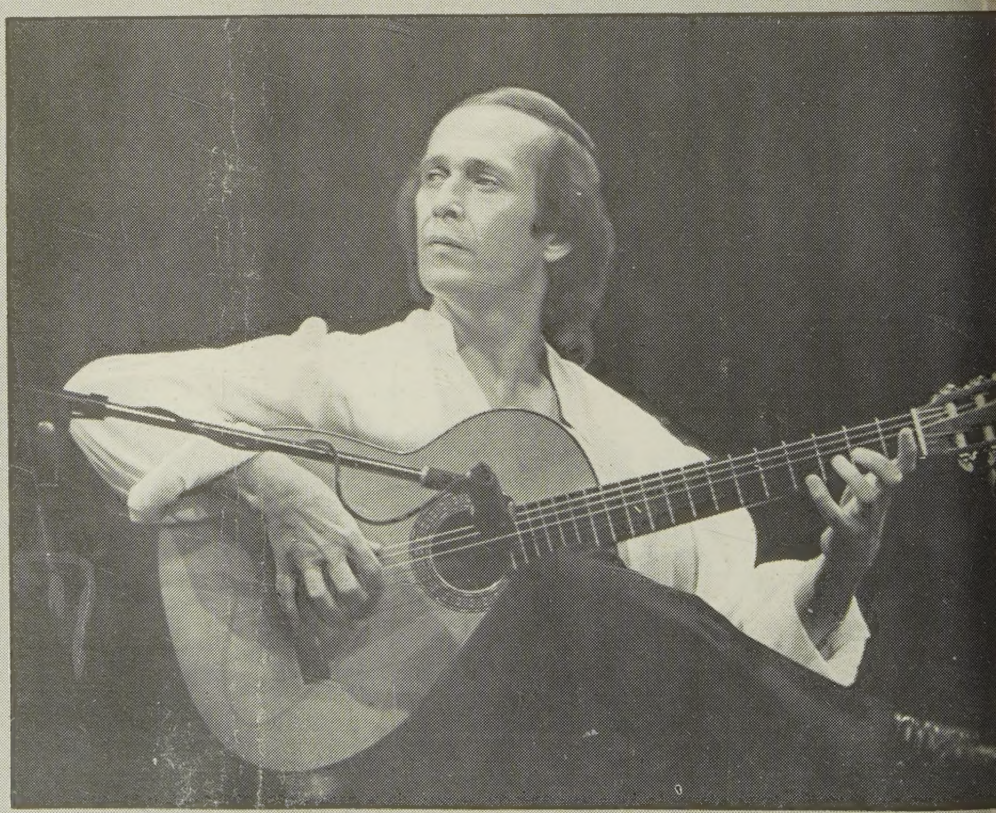
INTERNATIONAL
CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Vladimir Horowitz.

Alexander Ratnikov (U.S.S.R.)

From the series "World-Famous Musicians in Moscow."



Paco de Lucia.

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